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318 split spruce sapling, about three quarters of an inch in diameter. While the inner surface
335 of the pole is carefully planed, the outer bark is not removed. This crosspiece is nailed about
a foot below the first pair and at the lowest point of the rising curve. The worker next cuts
four crosspieces two inches wide and a quarter inch thick. These are placed along the body
of the vehicle, beginning at the extreme rear and about twenty inches apart. They do not,
however, extend the full width of the toboggan but to about three quarters of an inch from
each side. On that side of the crosspiece which is to fit against the toboggan boards, the
worker cuts two grooves at points about one inch from either end. These grooves are cut
about three quarters of an inch wide and half an inch deep. To cut these grooves, they are
first outlined with a pencil. The extremes of the groove are then sawed to the proper depth.
Using the tip of a butcher knife as a chisel, the worker removes the wood between the cuts
of the saw. The blade of the knife is also used to trim away uneven edges of wood. The
outer edges and corners of each crosspiece are bevelled. The piece is then nailed to the
toboggan, the nails being driven down from the upper surface. The excess length of nail
coming through the wood of the running surface is bent back toward the rear of the vehicle.

Old Man pointed out that this was an unsatisfactory way of constructing a toboggan
since the bent nails would work away from the boards when the vehicle was in use. Also
wear on the bearers, such as would be produced by traveling over windfalls, would soon
expose too much of the nailed surface. These predictions were fulfilled. After his first trip
with the new toboggan Hans removed the nails and drove them into the vehicle from the
running surface. Old Man pointed out that many people join the crosspieces to the runners
with babiche ties. When this is done, the worker first drills a hole through the thickness of
the crosspiece and then makes two holes through the runners. The line is countersunk
where it passes under the body of the vehicle.

When all of the crosspieces are in place, the running surface of the toboggan is planed
smooth, care being taken to avoid the projecting nails. The rear end of the boards are sawed
even with the last crosspiece. A three quarter inch hole is drilled in the exact center of the
front of the vehicle between the two center boards and directly below the forward pair of
crosspieces. Here the guide rope, a piece of manilla line about a half inch in diameter and
four yards long, will be tied. Two holes, half an inch in diameter, are then drilled in the
front of each of the outside running boards immediately below the forward crosspieces.
In line with these holes, grooves are cut in the outer bevelled edges of the forward cross-
pieces. From these holes lines, of double twisted babiche or insulated copper cable, bend
around the front of the vehicle and are then drawn back to the first grooved crosspiece
where they are fastened together. These lines serve to prevent the curve from leaving the
toboggan when the wood becomes damp. On each side of the toboggan, between the first
and last grooved crosspieces, a right babiche or insulated wire line is strung. The line passes
through the grooves and is fastened to the rear crosspiece. This lashing is used to secure
the dog harness, and under it pass the cordage that secures goods on the toboggan.

398 An attempt was made to note the emotions expressed by Hans during the construction
335 of a toboggan. He was somewhat uncertain if the materials available were adequate for the
task. For example, he was disturbed with the fact that one of the boards was hewed from
157 black birch instead of white, fearing that the knots would cause it to split. In putting to-

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gether the vehicle he worked carefully, but inevitable accidents occurred. Several times the partially dried wood used for crosspieces split when nailed in place. Hans did not go out of his way to rectify these damages. In other words, he revealed no evidence of a drive toward perfection. He was always aware of the limits of the material which he was using but was not well satisfied with the finished product. About half-way through the construction process, Hans expressed the desire for sufficient skins with which to buy a commercially manufactured toboggan during his Christmas visit to Lower Post.[9]

Toboggans are built by men. When carrying a passenger, this vehicle is guided by handlebars. The construction of these was not observed. Their principal feature is a pair of carved wooden handles secured together with crosspieces and lashed to the toboggan. The handlebars are placed about ten inches from the rear of the vehicle, leaving a small space on which a man can stand. The partially enclosed cariole was never seen in the Kaska area.

From three to six dogs are used to draw a toboggan. Dogs are hitched one behind the other, one dog being consistently employed as a leader. The fanwise type of harness is not used and, indeed, would not be adapted to the wooded brushy country of the area. Dog harness is made by women from one and a half inch canvas webbing and includes a collar made of tanned moosehide stuffed with moose hairs and sewn with babiche. The traces are secured to the collar, while a cinch strap, containing two or three small sleigh bells, is fitted around the dog's back to keep the harness in place. The harness of each dog behind the leader is fitted with steel rings which are attached to inch long steel snap fasteners at the end of the traces. These fasteners are also used to harness the last dog to the lashing of the toboggan.

A man generally packs the toboggan but may be assisted by his wife. The heaviest load is placed in the rear of the vehicle. The goods are set on the floor boards, cooking pots and frying pans being placed on top of the main load. The outfit is then covered with a large canvas tarp which is tied down to the toboggan's lashing with several pieces of manila rope. The rope is first secured to the lashing with an overhand knot. Passing across the top of the load it bends under the lashing on the opposite side of the vehicle and is pulled tight before being drawn back to the first side. This process continues to the end of the cordage which is then tied to the lashing with a single overhand knot. A new piece of cordage is taken and the tying continued. Cut or uncut wood is also lashed down in this fashion. Lunch for people traveling is placed in a packsack, which is tied between the handlebars when this apparatus is in use. When children or women ride on the toboggan, they are seated so that their backs rest against the handlebar cross pieces. Folded blankets are placed on the floor boards, an eiderdown sleeping robe is spread on top of these and is drawn tightly around the person's body so that it covers the head like a hood. This serves to keep off falling snow. The covering is then lashed to the handlebars and to the side lashing. When the traveler temporarily leaves this shelter, the blankets are immediately closed in order to prevent the heated, damp blankets from freezing. After the toboggan is packed, the man's wife or a younger boy harnesses the dogs to the vehicle.

[9] Although Hans' trapping luck was rather poor, the fact that the ethnographer was willing to buy his toboggan enabled him to satisfy his desire. The toboggan, whose manufacture has just been described, is now in the Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History.

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the police are disliked and this attitude is readily transferred to the governmental stereotype constructed out of the individual's experience with law enforcement.

Law and Social Control

The atomistic structure of Kaska society is associated with a complete lack of formal social control beyond that which has been introduced following the absorption of the group into the larger white society. There is a tendency for the people to remain as much as possible aloof from the white man's law or system of justice, interpersonal grievances within the Indian community rarely being brought to the adjudication of white courts. As a result, all cases heard have as their complainants the police, Indian Agent or white men.

The principal individual incentives compelling adult conformity to the Indian and white expectations of behavior are guilt, shame, warnings, precepts, and fear of sanctions. Guilt and shame are inextricably related in patterning conformity to the Indian standard of values, although they are notably weak in making behavior conform to those expectations of the white society that apply to drinking, brewing, trapping, and hunting. Guilt and shame may be identified as conscience or superego pressure. Nitla defined this mechanism well when he said that an individual knows if he does evil. "He know it in his brain. Everything bum. You better stay alone." Conscience may often drive a person to make amends with the individual whom he has offended or it may prompt him to excuse his behavior, blaming it on somebody else. In the case of John Kean, who began living with his brother's wife, strong antipathy and aggression appeared to those people who, he thought with some reason, were criticizing his conduct. On one occasion he tried to slough off responsibility for his actions by laying the blame on Adele, the woman with whom he was living, and even on his brother. Forgiveness does not always erase the pang of conscience, as witness River Joe and Louis Maza the morning after a drinking party that had been accompanied by considerable violence and disorder. Although Mrs. Maza forgave her husband for having hurt her and River Joe was assured that his aggressive behavior had not seriously harmed anyone, both men appeared extremely shy and disconcerted. They protested to the ethnographer how "sorry" they felt about the fracas which they had begun. In general, however, the Kaska superego does not seem harsh. Once the situation of default is past, the offense tends to be quickly forgotten. No evidence was adduced of a lingering sense of guilt (although it was looked for) nor of the long persistence of any need for atonement or expiation.

Rather slight effort is made within the native community to induce adult social conformity by means of warnings and precepts, although the missionaries and police make stronger use of this technique. The priest frequently warns Indians of imminent police and supernatural sanctions, while the police threaten suspected wrongdoers with fine and arrest. Because of the reluctance of an Indian to interfere in another person's business, warnings and advice are entirely limited to relatives and close friends. River Joe was afraid to exert himself in the relationship of John Kean and Nitla's wife, for fear that word of his interference would reach the Lower Pelly River tribe to which Adele belonged and whose members would then be "down" on him. Louis Maza also emphasized his powerlessness in this direction. "I can't say nothing. That not my business. I never tell nobody what to do." One of the main reasons for such lack of interference is the fear of arousing resentment and

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626 hostility, but it also seems to spring from the individual's personal desire to be left alone;
157 hence he respects another's privacy. Such attitudes, however, do not always inhibit gossip, which is derived from latent antagonism or which sometimes functions as a vehicle of social control.

681 The chief sanctions imposed by the Indian community include gossip, ostracism, and
626 supernaturally derived insanity. Fine and arrest are the formal sanctions imposed by the white society. Gossip is the common result of failure to share grub and capital goods or control aggression, and also follows adultery. Since gossip is also an expression of interpersonal hostility, its functions are wider than social control. As might be expected, the dual uses of gossip succeed in complicating its utility as a means of social control. That is to say, people often use gossip more as a retaliatory device than as a sanction, and this in turn arouses antagonism in the wrongdoer even when it leads to a modification of behavior.

626 Ostracism is an ideal sanction which in practice tends to be avoided for fear of giving
183 too direct offense to a defaulter. Nitla vouched for this ideal pattern when he said that an aggressive person, one who is "too much mean, swear, cranky," will be avoided by the people. "Nobody look after that kind of man. Everybody he don't want him." A man who becomes aggressive under alcohol may be quietly left out of a drinking party, although nobody would refuse an invitation to share his brew. On the other hand, if the offensive person appears on the scene of a beer drink, there is no way to prevent him from joining the group.

681 Insanity and deformity are supernaturally derived sanctions which are popularly feared
828 to follow infractions of moiety exogamy and other forms of incest. Insanity is also believed to occur: "If you think about girl too much . . . If you want to play with girl too much."

626 Fines are feared not so much because they deprive one of wealth than because they
158 involve appearance in court and expose the individual to questioning and public censure.
697 Arrest is the most dreaded sanction, and this fear is reinforced by the frequently repeated story of one of River Joe's sons. Several years ago the youth was arrested on the complaint of a white man for a marital offense. Found guilty, he was sent to prison for one year. The incarceration is widely supposed to have affected him mentally, although other reports blame his subsequent break-down on a too intense interest in girls. At any rate, upon his release from prison, the young man showed psychotic reactions and once more had to be removed from the area for confinement. He is still a patient in a mental hospital near Vancouver. This incident is very much in the memory of the people and helps to confirm the strong fear of arrest. Nobody was jailed during the period of field work, one reason for this being the lack of jail facilities in Lower Post. In 1945, however, a jail was built in the town and the constable is reported to have promised that it would be readily used if necessity demanded. Imprisonment outside of the area is reserved for serious crimes involving sentences of a year or more.

68 Offenses against life and the person are rare. Premarital sexuality, especially when it
[836] occurs among sixteen and seventeen year olds, could be construed as a crime according to
[738] national law but tends to be ignored by the police (who would have difficulty securing evidence), and is not regarded as a serious offense by Indians. In the past, one or two girls at McDame Creek have been sent to reform school for pronounced sexual delinquency.

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182 dollars. That's his kids. He's got maybe five kid. Each put up one hundred dollars. *He figger*
185 *he gonna take whole Hyland River.* Old Kaan put up one hundred fifty dollars. My brother
224 put up ten dollars. They say from Lower Post three thousand dollars going." The imputed
156 motive of Old Chief (which we have italicized) is significant, since it points out the lack of ingroup solidarity and the self-centeredness of the individual. Old Chief received his designation from white men and should not be regarded as an executive whose legitimacy was derived from the native society.

185 Today only unorganized and diffused traces of social ideologies are encountered. All of
182 these emphasize better governmental care of the Indian and consist mainly of pleas and complaints which never achieve a stage where they are implemented by action. Interest was shown toward a Canadian Commonwealth Federation (C. C. F.) organizer who came to Lower Post in 1945. Old Man, who heard of the man indirectly from John Kaan, spoke approvingly of the "new government" and thought it would "do something" for the Indian.

571 Interpersonal antagonism characterizes most of the relations of men in the area and is
521 even the most prominent feature of interpersonal relations within a tribal district. Despite
157 the ideal attitude commanding a person to mind his own business, the common expression of this latent hostility is through malicious gossip and backbiting. Such expression, however, is confined to good friends and older men who are not apt to carry the calumnies back to the subjects. Young men and most women show a strong and consistent reluctance to gossip or criticize, and it is only in an unguarded moment or during intoxication that their feelings are permitted escape. The careful control on the expression of hostility is related to the Kaska Indian's great fear of giving offense to people and thereby damaging his own reputation. Old Man illustrated this tactfulness abundantly. He felt that Old Lady Metla had to be given a good funeral for fear of otherwise offending her daughter, Lady Sam. Following the death of her mother the latter was received in Old Man's house as a temporary accommodation, but the old man soon regretted his action as he began to perceive that Lady Sam and her youngest son, Donald, were depleting his stock of grub. He was *extremely* reluctant however, to take any action that would give offense. Instead he complained to the ethnographer of his guests' eating habits and criticized young Donald's laziness. A large part of his resentment was expressed in the socially permitted form of tormenting the latter youth for his indifferent work habits.

579 The hypocrisy between even good friends is striking. Old Kaan and Old Man had spent
571 a sociable evening drinking brew together and complimenting each other. Two days later Old Kaan criticized Old Man bitterly. He accused the latter of illegally trapping on both
572 sides of the Laird River, affirming that the other man had no right to cross the stream. Then
157 he alluded to Old Man's long association with white men and implied that Old Man was beginning to think of himself as a white man. He ended up by branding his friend as "full of bullshit," that is, a liar. A few days later Old Kaan aired his resentment of River Joe, whom he accused of trying to be the boss of the whole country. He forcefully threatened to put River Joe in jail.

Similar attitudes prevailed in the relationship of Old Man and River Joe. Together the two always appeared to be good friends, but behind the other's back Old Man was tirelessly

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critical. He indirectly warned the ethnographer not to be taken in by River Joe's friendship, stating that River Joe quickly tired of people and then discarded them. Old Man periodically resented Joe's past criticism of the present Mrs. Man. According to Old Man, River Joe had sneered at this marriage to an old woman and urged his former brother-in-law (Old Man had married sisters of River Joe's brother's wife) to find a young girl. Old Man expressed little sympathy with River Joe's widowhood, claiming that the latter had once called himself a Taku Indian, and why didn't he go to those people now in order to find a new woman. In his turn River Joe warned the ethnographer not to live with Old Man and compared his own settlement, with its clean, well floored houses, to Old Man's floorless buildings.

The same note was struck by Louis Man, who jeered at the poor accommodations which Old Man could offer the ethnographer and pointed pridefully to his better quarters. Louis' attitudes were echoed by his partner, Peter Tom. Derogatory attitudes were expressed by Old Man regarding Louis Man. He said that out of meanness Louis was not allowing his partner, Peter, to live in the former's new house but was forcing the youth to sleep in an old tent frame. This appears to have been a total misconstruction of facts, since Peter had previously boasted that the tent frame would become his own when Louis moved into his new house.

We also heard Peter Tom criticize River Joe for turning against people who ate his grub. This antagonism may be explained by the fact that after having lived with one of Joe's daughters for a year, Peter found his plans to wed the girl legally frustrated by the older man's sudden change of mind. Peter also asserted that Hans Donnelly did not treat his wife well, forcing her to haul and cut wood. There is reason to believe that even a neighbor's economic hardship is often experienced as gratifying. An indication of this comes from the amusement with which travelers' news of poor luck in hunting and trapping is received in the winter settlements.

All of these illustrations come from one tribal district and show the character of the attitudes existing between close neighbors. Even within a single settlement there may be antagonism, especially if members of two unrelated or affinally related families live in proximity. Thus Harry Lang accused his brother-in-law's, Hans, mother of having "talked" about him and thereby influenced Hans to build his own tent frame and cease sharing Harry's house.

One function of interpersonal hostility is to reduce any feeling of group solidarity and thus to reaffirm the atomistic social structure. Between people of different tribal districts even stronger antagonisms prevail. Such people are often referred to as strangers or as "different people." Thus one afternoon Louis Man expressed his suspicion that the people across the river were drinking a brew. He added, "We can't go over there. Those different people. They never trust." Asked for his opinion about the Cross brothers, who were Nelson Indians, Old Man replied that he didn't know the Cross "bunch" but said that, according to Mary Wiley, who had lived with them as an affinal relative, they were "pretty hard to get along with and always talk about other people." He also reported River Joe's decision that the Nelson people were "no good." When Richard Jay was asked his opinion of Edward Cross, he stated that the latter is disliked by many people. All he

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Status of women. An adequate picture of the status of women in Kaska society must include consideration of several interdependent factors. These include the ideal attitudes of men regarding women, manifest behaviors of men toward women, and women's attitudes and behaviors toward men. 562

Ideally men recognize no intrinsic difference in intelligence between the sexes. On the other hand, by virtue of his activities, a man regards himself as superior to a woman. Because he traps and hunts, and through these activities supports a woman, he is "better" than she is. Old Man, who refused a direct answer to the question of which sex was superior, somewhat obliquely pointed out that a man who has lost his wife can be independent of a woman, making his own snowshoes, moccasins, and so on. Sexual antagonism of men is sometimes betrayed in derogatory remarks about women. Such remarks are: "He's just like woman," or "He's worse than woman." 562 183

Manifestly we find a woman to be economically dependent on a man although not necessarily on her husband. In marriage men perform the principal economic routines, supplying the household with most consumer and capital goods. It is interesting to note, however, that many men are reluctant to hunt or trap for long periods without the company of their wives. Old Man's statement that a widower can get along without a wife is belied by the events in his own life; he became emotionally upset, suicidal, and alcoholic following the death of his second wife and has been married three times. Such observations offer convincing proof of the fact that men are not content to live alone. Rather, a mature man's existence without a wife is sometimes characterized as "being hard time." Women, on the other hand, show a greater readiness to live independently and, as widows, do not show the eagerness to remarry which is revealed by men. A widow, perhaps with the aid of a daughter or sister, often becomes economically self-supporting, hunting moose and trapping as well as tending to female allocated duties. The woman's greater capacity for independence is probably related to the fact that men rarely do women's work, while as children women are in a position to learn many of the duties of the opposite sex and are better prepared to be self-sufficient. Matrilocal residence in marriage also operates to reduce both a woman's emotional and economic dependence on her husband. Finally, the status of women is further benefited by the fact that the society does not restrict a woman's activities by limiting them. Despite the fact that she may have several children, a woman will often move camp several times a year, accompany her husband traveling, and generally show no sign of being tied down or frustrated in a wide range of behavior. This freedom gives her opportunities to gain further knowledge of male allocated techniques and routines which may someday be useful and thereby lowers her degree of dependence. 562 155

We do not, however, find any pronounced reflection of a woman's potential independence and self-sufficiency in her marital relationship. Although in most families a wife is consulted before her husband makes any major decisions, there are few women who display dominant or matriarchal characteristics although sometimes a man's ineffectualness leads his wife to assume a firm command over family matters. Women generally reveal passive and compliant personalities and are willing to follow the lead of their husbands. 562 156

The expression of masculine striving in some girls seems to reflect a discontent with the less prestiged, more unexciting activities of women. Several such expressions were col- 562 157

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lected. Before her marriage, Paulette Donnelly is reported to have told her father: "I want to be like boy. I want to rustle, make little money." She didn't want children, feeling they were too much trouble, and inquired for contraceptive information. The spontaneous exclamation of Paulette, "I'm just as good as man!" when she one day killed a porcupine with an ax, is further evidence of the same trend. Another of Old Man's daughters was on her deathbed when she said to her father: "Don't try to save me. I'm no good to you. I can't break trail, I can't hunt, I'm only a girl."[33] In conversation women often speak rather boastfully of their exploits when hunting big game. Several women were reported to have attempted to induce sterility by magical means.[34]

To sum up the pertinent data reflecting the status of women, it can be said that the society enables the feminine sex to develop a considerable degree of independence and that such freedom is welcomed. The behavior of masculine striving is additional evidence of the woman's search for sexual equality. On the other hand, men's attitudes toward women and the marital relationship give women little opportunity to express independence, and force them to take a subsidiary role which is somewhat inferior to that patterned for men.

Old Age[35]

The Kaska define old age primarily by its biological correlates. Physically, as Old Man pointed out, "When people get old they get stiff and cramp everywhere. When they turn around, everything sore." General weakness and debility affect the body. Eyesight and hearing become impaired. As a man ages his hunting ability is one of the first things to decline. Stamina is drained off, "just like electricity." Louis Mann observed that when he was young he would go anywhere for moose. He kept on the move all the time, traveling all hours of the night. But now, at the age of thirty-seven, he is beginning to feel incapable of such exertion. The day after having indulged in too strenuous activity he wakes feeling unrefreshed and unrested. "You open your eye, feel you get up. No. Go back to sleep again. Old do that." Old age is also stated to be a time when very early experiences of an individual often vividly return to memory—"just like reading book."

Ideally old age is regarded as a period of wisdom derived from abundant experience. Old people are sometimes thought to possess strong supernatural power which has enabled them to hold on to life. Such idealization of age, however, is no obstacle to characterizing a clumsy or inept performance by assessing the actor as "like old man." In carrying old clothes, blankets, and other objects from the cabin which was to be occupied by the ethnographer, several girls began to chant: "Metlà blanket," "Metlà coat," and so on, for each heavy article which they brought out. The reference was to a partially senile old woman of

[33] Masculine striving was rewarded in aboriginal Kaska society at the expense of a woman's sexual satisfaction. A young girl, protected against conception by magical means, was brought up in the clothing and role of a boy, being trained to do a man's work. Her hunting ability was regarded as tied up with virginity, and she was expected to defend herself strongly against seduction. Slightly different patterns for assertive women to adopt men's roles (without, however, denying themselves sexual satisfaction) have been reported from Plains and other American Indian tribes. For a review of the literature see Steward, *Sex and the Social Order* (1946), 119–121.

[34] For details of such techniques see below, pp. 231–232.

[35] The collection of data for this section was considerably influenced by reference in the field to Simmons' *A Prospectus for Field-Research in the Position and Treatment of the Aged in Primitive and Other Societies* (1945).

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hysteria in which people for no known reason fled from their camps and sat in the snow. This may represent an outbreak of true Arctic hysteria with compulsive suggestibility.

Personality

Rorschach's Test was given to twenty-eight Kaska Indians. Although at first instructions were closely followed and each card was shown a second time, in order to perform the inquiry and to invoke further responses, it was soon discovered that two showings made the test too long and irksome for these people. Particularly children grew restless when required to sit through a detailed inquiry, while most adults showed little sign of becoming more at ease as time over the cards increased. The situation often grew so painful that it was necessary to beg the subjects to remain for a few more minutes. To overcome this difficulty, it was determined to conduct the inquiry simultaneously with the initial presentation of the cards. While this procedure in part upset the standardization under which the test was constructed and is commonly administered, it may be expected that the results obtained have not been seriously impaired. Of the twenty-eight protocols collected, thirteen are based on two showings of the cards, the inquiry here being conducted in accordance with standard procedure. In the case of girls and women, most of the tests were administered by the ethnographer's wife.

Rorschach records were obtained from fourteen adult males and five adult females. Nine children under sixteen years of age were tested, five boys and four girls. Although the number of cases is limited, in general the psychological homogeneity of the population is demonstrated.

The mean number of responses for the adult group is 22.16, the range being from three to ninety although only two individuals gave more than thirty-six responses. An important qualification to be added is the fact that slightly over fifty per cent of the subjects produced fewer than eighteen answers. The mean number of responses for the children's group is 15.5, the range being from six to twenty-nine.

The tabulation of responses according to location is shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Tabulation of Rorschach Responses According to Location

	Adult Mean (N=19)	Per Cent	Child Mean (N=9)	Per Cent
W	3.73	14	4	25
D	11.47	54	10	64
Dd	6.83	30	1.75	10
S	.13	2	.25	.7

An inspection of these figures reveals the adult manner of approach to be (W), D, Dd S!!!! while the child approach is W, D!, Dd S! In other words, among the adults as a whole we find a very high overemphasis of small detail responses with an underemphasis of whole answers, whereas in children a somewhat better balanced picture obtains.

In Table 13 is presented a tabulation of the responses according to determinants. The

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distribution of these responses reveals significant differences from the distribution of determinants in American society, the most important being the very low number of color determined responses and the high number of form percepts which even characterizes the child group. In both groups we find a M: sum C relationship in which M exceeds the sum of the color scores; in adults the mean ratio is 1.16:.97, while in children it reads 1:.56. A similar tendency is found in the ratio designated (FM+m):(Fc+c+C'). For adults this relationship reads 3.32:.9 while in children it is 2.78:.44. About thirty-seven per cent of the adults and thirty-two per cent of the children's responses were produced on the last three cards. The W:M ratio in adults is 3.53:1.16 while in children it reads 4:1.

TABLE 13. TABULATION OF RORSCHACH RESPONSES ACCORDING TO DETERMINANTS

	Adult Mean (N=19)	Per Cent	Child Mean (N=9)	Per Cent
M	1.16	5	1	6
FM	3.32	15	2.67	17
m	0	0	.11	.7
k	0	0	.11	.7
K	.37	2	.11	.7
FK	.32	1	.11	.7
F	15	67	10.22	66
Fc	.63	3	.33	2
c	.16	1	.11	.7
C'	.11	.7	0	0
FC	.47	2	.56	4
CF	.26	1	.11	.7
C	.32	1	.11	.7

The responses presented according to content are shown in Table 14. This tabulation is noteworthy for the high number of animal responses found in both the adult and child categories. In adults the ratio (H+A):(Hd+Ad) is 11.52:5.79 while in children it is 9.1:1.67.

Responses distributed according to their popularity or originality are shown in Table 15.[10]

In Table 16 is tabulated the number of failures to attend to any of the cards. This is expressed as a percentage of the number of people potentially able to respond to this blot.

It is significant that five per cent of the adult group failures (or about forty per cent of the total number of adult rejections) occurred on the last three cards. This would indicate color shock, an interpretation confirmed by an inspection of many records. One third of the failures in children occurred on these all color cards. Cards V, VI, and VII also show a significantly large number of rejections and inspection of the protocols confirms the interpretation of shading shock, which may also partically explain the rejections of the first card.

[10] In scoring an answer popular we were guided by Beck (Beck, Rorschach's Test: *I Basic Processes* [1944], 120-122). Any response occurring more than once in the group as a whole was also scored popular.

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TABLE 14. TABULATION OF RORSCHACH RESPONSES ACCORDING TO CONTENT

	Adult Mean (N=19)	Per Cent	Child Mean (N=9)	Per Cent
H	1.68	8	0.00	14
Hd	0.74	8	.67	4
A	9.84	44	6.88	44
Ad	4.07	18	1	6
Anbj	1.26	6	.00	1
At	.47	0	0	0
Sex	.05	.0	0	0
Obj	.63	3	0	13
N	.74	3	.68	4
Pl	.40	0	.89	6
Geo	.05	.0	0	0
Fire	.05	.0	.11	.7
Clouds	.16	.7	.11	.7
Blood	.11	.5	0	0
Abstract	.30	1	0	0
Bones	.37	0	0	0
(A)	.11	.5	.78	5
(H)	.11	.5	0	0

TABLE 15. TABULATION OF RORSCHACH RESPONSES ACCORDING TO POPULARITY

	Adult Mean (N=19)	Per Cent	Child Mean (N=9)	Per Cent
P	10.07	51	10.3	66
O	10.11	46	9.0	33

An application of the Rorschach data to the problem of ethos will be presented later. At this point we propose to describe briefly the personality structure of the Kaska Indians as revealed by the sample tested. As judged from Rorschach records, the average Kaska adult reveals himself intellectually as a concrete and practical thinker who avoids levels of abstract or generalized speculation. He is shown to be uncritically preoccupied with discrete and relatively minute facets of existence. When this excessive interest in petty details is considered alongside the low production of human movement responses, the Kaska adult is demonstrated as unable to release his imaginative processes in creative thinking. Although the ability for such thought is present, its expression is inhibited by other personality factors. Children are less concerned with minutiae. They seem to be freer to grasp relationships within broader frameworks without, however, being more able to utilize imagination in this process.

Emotionally the average Kaska is disclosed as tense, inhibited, or constricted. The ability

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TABLE 26. TABULATION OF THE NUMBER OF REJECTIONS TO EACH RORSCHACH CARD

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	Adult Mean (N=19)	Per Cent	Child Mean (N=9)	Per Cent
I	4	2	2	2
II	1	.5	0	0
III	2	1	1	1
IV	0	0	0	0
V	2	1	1	1
VI	4	2	1	1
VII	2	1	1	1
VIII	2	1	0	0
IX	4	2	1	1
X	4	2	2	2
Total	25	12.5	9	9

to be emotionally stimulated by inner experience (fantasy and imagination) or by external situations are both lacking. Socially detached, affectively cold and undemonstrative, the Indian personality can be characterized as emotionally immobile and blocked. This constriction prevents the individual from freely grasping or understanding all aspects of his world and undoubtedly is related to his indefinite, hesitant, and limited intellectual approach. Correlated with constriction is a circumscribed range of interest. The Kaska Indian is an introvert who, having removed himself from the stimulation of his environment, confines himself to a subdued and suppressed individualistic career in which even internal stimulation is not permitted to develop.

That this emotional aloofness is psychologically defensive is suggested by the evidence of a severe anxiety, whose origins go back to very early experiences of the individual. Paralyzed by this basic tension, the personality seeks a narrow course of safety between inner apprehension and external fear. As a result people in interpersonal relations tend to be indirect, suspicious, reserved, and uneasy. There is constant fear of being overwhelmed, dominated, or exploited. The awareness of this danger results in a self-centered existence in which emotional spontaneity is reduced to a minimum.

MEDICINE

The Kaska Indians understand the principle of contagious disease and ideally recognize 753
more hygienic techniques for preventing illness than they display in behavior. For example, 751
although it is believed that such diseases as colds and tuberculosis are transmitted through contact with a person who has these illnesses, little care is taken to forestall physical interaction with reputed carriers. Again, while in principle the danger of using another's cup or table utensils is understood, tableware, especially at drinking parties, is often interchanged without rinsing. At the two potlatches given in 1945, each guest was told to provide his own cup, plate, knife, fork, and spoon. The plan miscarried, however, as many people neglected

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182 tern requiring long isolation in the bush under crowded states, which because of the private phrasing of sexual matters, are relatively unsuitable for the union of men and women. Therefore we see a higher rate of conception occurring in summer, after the total community has assembled and when climate facilitates finding privacy.[10]

182 842 811 Kaska parents rationalize their desire for children principally in terms of the child's potential economic contribution to family cooperation. Children are wanted because *it* is expected that they will grow up as staffs upon which parents will find support. This ideal expectation of a child's eventual role is, as we have already indicated, generally doomed to disappointment. Although adolescents make important contributions to family economy, they do not, as adults, provide sources of gratification on which the tired, old, or sick parents may rely with any assurance. The rationalized desire for children, therefore, turns out to be a weak one and it is to be expected that people with the empirical ability of the Kaska should have learned how little they can depend on grown offspring. Assuming that social awareness of the child's increasing disregard of parental wellbeing exists, we find, as a result, an absence of any extraordinarily compelling economic or social motives for reproduction, which in turn is compatible with the desire of some young women to limit their fertility. Contraception, in other words, denies the adult society of no important potential rewards or obligations and hence meets with no disapproval. Other unconscious attitudes associated with the desire to avoid progeny, related to the female pattern of masculine striving outlined in connection with the status of women, will be further explored in the following division of this report. It may also be noted that the native theory of procreation, which derives the offspring from a double mixture of blood, the father's and mother's, and thus implicitly notices the male's role in forming the embryo and fetus, is compatible with the manifest [611] bilateral emphasis of family life in which neither parent is singled out as most important. Such bilaterality is more manifested in Kaska society than the fiction of matrilineal descent.[11]

182 157 Finally, attention may be directed to the relationship of the Kaska's blocked emotionality, as revealed in behavior in the Rorschach situation, and the atomistic social structure of the society in which interpersonal adjustment is typically sought by what has been described as an avoidance of social interaction. Significant in this regard is the contrast between the normally unexpressive life of the Indian and the explosive outbursts that sometimes occur with intoxication and in mental disease. It seems likely that the latter phenomena follow an involuntary release of strong inhibitory mechanisms. In this discussion of emotion we are already approaching the sphere of Kaska ethos, to which we will now give extended attention.

[10] We are reminded of Mumford's picture of medieval Europe with the awakening of sex coming in spring. "... the late medieval astrological calendars, which depict this awakening, show the lovers having intercourse in the open with their clothes on. ... For lovers in the medieval house the winter months must have been a large wet blanket." Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (1938), 41.

[11] According to Richards: "By dogma of descent I mean ... those theories of procreation which express a people's beliefs as to the physical contribution of the father and mother to the formation of the child." Citing the attention which Malinowski and Rattray in their field work had previously paid to this theory, she points out that a society's dogma of descent often correlates with social structure. Richards, *The Political System of the Bemba Tribe—North-Eastern Rhodesia* (1940), 56; see also Evans-Pritchard, *Heredity and Gestation, as the Azande See Them* (1932), 407; Ford, *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction* (1945), 44.

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181 156 erate ego feeling, or neither excessively high nor low self-esteem. Such a conclusion seems warranted by the facts considered above as well as by the absence of directly expressed self-pity, the manifest pride in achievement, and, on the negative side, by the tendency to bolster self-esteem, placing the blame for misfortune on others, and showing up the inferiority of others. The readiness to apply empirical thinking also demonstrates a certain degree of positive ego development; on the other hand, we find this type of thought paralleled by mysticism, in which ego control surrenders to unconscious wishes and anxieties.

157 Beck has postulated that the stronger the ego, the more good form responses will appear in the Rorschach record while poor form answers often indicate personal needs distorting perception.[1] The mean Kaska adult *F*+ and *F*− scores show a balance in favor of good form responses.

	Mean (R = 33.16)
F+	9.21
F−	5.84

Despite inability to correlate quantitatively form perception with ego tonicity, these figures confirm the interpretation that the Kaska level of self-esteem is not excessively low and that its strength is probably undermined by the intrusion of passive longings.

181 156 *Expression of egocentricity.* All positive expression of egocentricity in Kaska behavior may be understood as a statement by the individual affirming his ability to accomplish a task upon his own initiative, or declaring his independence from other people. Some situations, however, may overwhelm the person with their complexity or else be beyond his capacities. In such cases a threat to egocentricity, arising in part from the operation of contradictory motives, promotes reactions of guilt and anxiety. By discussing egocentricity as the first of the dominant motivations, we hope to show its important and consciously accepted position in Kaska personality. It is unfortunate that in this advance position we cannot too clearly relate the motive to the other dominant motivations still awaiting discussion. We may, however, refer to egocentricity and utilitarianism as representing the self-asserting and self-sufficient trends of Kaska personality. The expression of egocentric attitudes will first be discussed in connection with technical, social, and religious situations. We will then take up the question of differences in egocentricity between men and women, the general reactions produced by threats to the egocentric goal and, finally the expression of egocentricity in the Rorschach test situation.

Together with utilitarianism, egocentricity dominates most of the technical routines of Kaska culture, investing those activities with conscious meaning. Work becomes significant because it guarantees the person's independence and self-sufficiency or, if adaptive difficulties arise, threatens those aims with failure—that is, imperil the maintenance of egocentricity. Successful hunting, construction, and traveling represent self-assertion.

Independence is assured in Kaska economic life by the fact that most technological activities do not require people to work together for common ends, nor need many persons

[1] Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 10, 11. Poor form answers may also be caused by erroneous perception due to immaturity or excitement.

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from childhood been trained for a serving role, and this renders them more passive. Within the family, women cooperate more freely. In these situations, therefore, they show a weaker motive of self-assertion and somewhat less self-interest. On the whole, we may conclude that egocentricity seems to be quite firmly patterned in the feminine personality but is sometimes modified by the demands of the woman's marital role.

Threat to egocentric goals. For the present we will limit discussion to threats occurring in the man's personality as a result of failure to realize his egocentric values. Threats to feminine egocentricity can be better understood when considered in relation to other motives. As long as the ego is able to withstand the stresses of living and unable to perceive any conscious conflict of egocentricity and incompatible motives, the Kaska Indian approaches life with confidence. Any interference with the maintenance of egocentric trends, through failure of the executive functions of the ego, is inevitably accompanied by threat and anxiety. In critical situations, when expression of the egocentric motivation is blocked, when independence or self-reliance have been overwhelmed or expect to meet defeat, we find a mustering of passive forms of mastery, such as reliance on luck, withdrawal from the field, procrastination, and hypochondriasis—defenses all, designed for the ego's protection against mounting anxiety. In a society which demands considerable personal exertion in the process of getting a living, in which there are few alternative economic roles to choose from, and in which dependency and passivity are anxiety provoking, we may expect old age and illness to be traumatic phenomena, particularly in men.[8] Hypochondriasis is a common feature of the adult male personality and represents a common type of defense against situations in which the ego feels unable to achieve goals of independence and responsibility. Preoccupation with symptoms as an excuse for achievement, therefore, in part represents a passive withdrawal from the field of struggle. Its appearance occurs mainly in mature men, like Louis Mata and Old Man, but is already begun to be shown by a young married man like Hans Donnelly. Such men are expected to bear the brunt of economic responsibility but exhibit ego tonicity insufficient to support their socially patterned role.

Expression in the Rorschach test situation. We have already alluded to the form answers as related to one aspect of this motivation—self-esteem. Other criteria, applying partially to egocentricity are, those measuring the introversive trends of the personality. Klopfer and Kelley have defined the introvert as "predominantly motivated from within,"[9] and this is the general significance of the term as employed by Rorschach workers. If we limit introversion, as measured by the Rorschach technique, to denote the responsiveness of the individual to his own values and ideals (in contrast to extraversion, in which the values are in the environment) we may assume that introversion expresses one important aspect of egocentricity.

Klopfer and Kelley have listed three criteria for determining the relative degrees of introversion and extraversion of Rorschach subjects. These are, the ratio of the number of human responses to the sum of all color answers (*M*:sum C); the ratio of animal plus inanimate movement to shading, texture, and achromatic color responses (*FM*+m):(*fc*+c+*C'*) and,

[8] This generalization is well illustrated in the case of Old Man, who, during the past few years, has been coming to feel the limitations imposed on his physical powers by advancing years and failing eyesight. See the analysis of his personality below.

[9] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 122.

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finally the percentage of responses given to the last three cards.[10] The significance of these three criteria may be briefly summarized according to their definition by Klopfer and Kelley.

M:sum C	Indicates the balance between promptings from within and stimuli from without as far "as the subject can utilize these motivating forces."
(FM+m):(Fc+c+C')	Represents the introversial and extraversial tendencies not fully accepted or utilized.
Cards VIII, IX, X/R	Indicates the degree of "responsiveness to stimuli from without which is even less under the conscious control of the subject than the use of action and color elements."

The relevant figures for Kaska adults are given below:

	Mean (R = 22.16)
M:sum C	1.16:.97
(FM+m):(Fc+c+C')	3.32:.90
VIII, IX, X/R	34 Per Cent

In the two ratios, the left hand terms indicate introversive tendencies. The ratio of movement to the sum of the color responses lies in the direction of introversion, although not significantly so. In the second ratio, similar but stronger introversion is indicated. The conclusion follows that, although the Kaska do not seem to be able to draw upon a rich source of inner motivation, their tendency nevertheless is to rely upon themselves rather than to be responsive to pressure from the external environment. In the percentage of responses to the last three cards, the figure of thirty-four per cent is less than the forty per cent automatically expected, any excess of which is significant of external stimulation. The mean percentage given by the Kaska is also not below the thirty per cent level at which underproduction is stated to occur. Inspection of the records, however, reveals that many responses to the last three cards make little use of the color for concept formation. Here too, then, we can speak of a tendency to introversion manifested in the fact that outside stimulation has relatively little effect on the motivational life of the subject. We may conclude that Rorschach analysis tends to confirm the picture of egocentricity as denoting a personality organization in which there is strong interest in retaining independence from outside pressures with primary reliance on personal initiative.

Reference has been made to the expression of independence and individualism in the lack of interest which the individual shows in working for others. Such lack of motivation is reflected in the resistance to the Rorschach test situation, particularly in the high number of rejections.[11]

Résumé. A description of the operation of egocentricity has been offered in which the goals of this dominant motivation were identified as including personal independence, self-centeredness of values, and a sense of individualistic responsibility. Egocentricity constitutes one of the relatively self-assertive motives of the Kaska personality and is associated with a

[10] Klopfer and Kelley, The Rorschach Technique (1942), 253-254.

[11] For a tabulation of rejections see above, p. 243.

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156 moderate development of the ego. No profound difference in the egocentric direction of the
X 131 masculine or feminine personality seems to obtain. Under situations of stress, illness, and old age, because of the failure of the physical capacities of the individual, the ego becomes unable to execute the egocentric demands of the personality. This leads the individual to resort to passive forms of mastery which conflict with the egocentric goal, thereby arousing anxiety.

Utilitarianism

X 131 In referring to an aspect of Kaska motivation, utilitarianism denotes a practical, func-
● 157 tional, ingenious approach to the problems of living, and the ability to grapple with the problems resourcefully. The motivation aims toward mastery of experience via concrete, immediate thinking, sparing a minimum of attention for abstract speculation or non-functional elements of craftmanship like beauty, decoration, and perfectionism.

X 131 This section will consider the expression of utilitarianism in adaptive situations, person-
128 ally adjustive behavior, the Rorschach test situation, and, finally, with reference to the Kaska Indian's reality system.

X 131 *Adaptive expression.* Utilitarianism, in motivating practical and ingenious behavior, bears
157 a close relationship to the dominant motivation of egocentricity. As already pointed out, together the two dominant motivations may be described as headed for a goal of self-sufficiency, utilitarianism aiding the achievement of independence by providing practical resourcefulness. Whereas egocentricity sponsors the attitude: "I must do this by myself," utilitarianism reinforces individualism with the statement: "I can do this alone." Faced with a rigorous and often dangerous environment, the Indian must be resourceful and competent in meeting the problems which he encounters in the atomistic social setting of his making, where cooperation is limited and professional assistance unobtainable.[13]

X 131 The role of utilitarianism in motivating adaptive problem solution is well illustrated by
157 the characteristic resourcefulness and ingenuity displayed by Kaska Indians. Consider, for
213 example, the cleverness with which men use common tools as substitutes for more refined implements—the ax as a saw or plane, the knife as a chisel and plane. Despite the Indian's preference for modern tools, he is never hampered when confronted with a necessary task whose postponement is impossible but for which suitable appliances are not available. Ingenuity leads a man to manufacture usable substitute equipment. While making snowshoes, preparatory to visiting the trap line, Hans Donnelly discovered that the settlement lacked small sized bits for drilling holes in the wooden frames. Spending eight to nine hours in heating and beating down the point of a file, Hans succeeded in manufacturing a suitable drill point which he then mounted in a wooden handle. When tools break in the winter trapping districts, where replacements are difficult to obtain, they are often soundly repaired with few other aids than a file, wire, and babiche. We have seen lost firing pins for .22 caliber rifles replaced with filed down nails, and split ax handles serviceably lashed with babiche. No commercial machine or apparatus, other than perhaps the radio (and here curiosity is begin-

[13] This statement may be modified if we consider that Indians sometimes secure a little expert mechanical assistance from white trappers in Lower Post. During much of the year, however, such specialized advice is not obtainable.

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ning to lead to tentative experimentation), is too complex for tinkering and repairing. Long hours are spent overhauling outboard motors and only as a last resort, when some precisely fitting piece is damaged beyond repair, will the task be abandoned and a new part purchased. A broken ax handle or a shattered snowshoe never suggest the abandonment of a journey, for such accidents can always be repaired with commonplace tools, a splint of willow, and a few feet of babiche. Several men reported encountering moose and caribou while traveling without a knife and butchering the animals with an ax. On one occasion Old Man retrieved the shell of the cartridge that had brought down the animal; then, using an ax, he beat the brass into a crude blade, fabricating an instrument with which to finish the butchering.

Utilitarianism is the personality factor on which the society relies for maintaining the mobility which is of paramount importance for economic survival. Considerable practical and ingenious thinking is displayed toward this end. For example, to lighten the weight of guns, men often saw down a rifle barrel, afterwards fitting the weapon with new sights which are then carefully tested in target shooting. A shortened barrel reduces the firing power of a weapon (it is not known if the Indians are aware of this limitation), but also makes the gun more comfortable for long marches in brushy country. Spruce wood, selected in preference to harder birch, for snowshoes represents a similar empirical and utilitarian approach to convenient travel. The prevalent use of bags and similar lightweight containers for food and clothing is another practical adaptation to the economic necessity of free mobility. One autumn, the failure of an outboard motor caused self-sufficiency to be strikingly applied to securing movement when, after a protracted period of delay, Harry Lang and his brother-in-law finally tracked and poled their boat more than fifty miles upriver from the Highway Crossing to Old Man's settlement. Their solution was the only one that could get them home while the bull moose still retained his fat and before the enforced delay, in an area where there was little game, consumed too much winter grub.

Utilitarianism, defined as a practical, functional approach to living, also shapes the attitudes towards acculturation in technical culture. We have already pointed out that the Kaska have been far more ready to borrow technological improvements than they have been to modify adjustive patterns of behavior. This acculturative set is associated with an utilitarian motivated absence of sentimentality for the aboriginal style of adaptation. This may explain the receptiveness which Morice has regarded as a characteristic trait of Athapaskan society.[9] To the utilitarian personality, the past represents a hard way of life, while newer ways of working, traveling, and general living quickly suggest their advantages.

Empirical attention to the zoological, botanical, and bodily environments too stems from utilitarian considerations, giving the practically important habits of animals far greater significance than other aspects of behavior. Kaska ethnobotany is a system of knowledge almost exclusively concerned with the economic values of woods coupled with more obvious observations of habitat. Beyond this, interest is limited. For example, Nitla could give no explanation of how trees maintained themselves or the manner in which they reproduced. Esoteric speculation and mysticism with regard to weather and in connection with sickness and death receive little elaborate development. Interest in such phenomena

[9] Morice, *The Fur Trader in Anthropology*; and *Four Related Questions* (1918), 77.

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is primarily determined by practical and immediate considerations—their value to ego's self-sufficiency or their threat to his efficient functioning.

The strongly developed practical interest in adaptation leads the Indian to neglect beauty and to be unresponsive to perfectionism as an end in itself—that is, above and beyond the degree required for utility. Embroidery on moccasins, mittens, and gloves is reduced to a minimum or often lacking. Only one or two women enjoy a reputation for fancy sewing, although many more are acknowledged as skillful, practical dressmakers. Cuts are particularly crude and unfinished. Experiments made to deduce the emotional aspects of cultural products in connection with clothing and housing consistently revealed qualities of simplicity and nonperfection. Mittens, moccasins, and children's underwear, without being fitted to the wearer's dimensions, are cut with a general impression of size, allowing a little extra so that the final product is always somewhat larger than necessary. The style is baggy, the garment only crudely shaped to the body. Analysis of several log cabins reveals a striking lack of perfectionism. In one cabin some roof poles are partly hewed while many are not hewed at all. Where the logs join at the corners they are often not all sawed off to equal length. Another cabin is only half floored. The interiors of most houses are not painted or otherwise finished. Such housing style permits the inference that the people's primary concern is with utility, adequacy of a structure being defined primarily in terms of the building's use for the obvious function of weather protection. Thus we find walls lined with cardboard to keep out drafts, and moss chinking far more prevalent than the more finished-looking chinking with pale clouts which many white men use. It may be pointed out, however, that the increasing use of mill sawed lumber, which is easier to manipulate than logs, is resulting in larger and, in some cases, more finished looking cabins. While the neglect of nonfunctional artistic production may be partly determined by the fact that Kaska society has not been able to develop leisure time patterns of self-expression, any total picture of this neglect must also take into consideration the dominant motivation toward utility. It is consistent with configurational thinking that such personality values should be developed in members of a society forced to live under rigorous environmental conditions, where energy has to be largely confined to adaptation.

Attitudes condemning waste may be partly ascribed to utilitarian considerations. Food leftovers, instead of being discarded or fed to dogs, are preserved for future meals. At the first potlatch, food remains returned by the servers were scraped from dishes and, after being mixed with the contents of the cooking pots, were served again. Similar economy is revealed toward the possessions of the dead. Destruction of death goods is minimal; only worn or soiled clothes are burned. Valuable goods (like a sleeping robe) are freed from contagion by washing or by allowing a period of time to dissolve the association between object and deceased owner.

Social sanctions supporting utilitarian resourcefulness are not lacking. Both the ideal man and woman are skillful. Young men are quietly proud of their technological achievements and older men of their special technical abilities. A skillful individual is selected for favorable comment and is also favored by a prospective parent-in-law, while an unskillful youth has his behavior deplored. More important than the social recognition of these attributes is the fact that practical skills and ingenuity greatly lighten the individual's adaptive problems, guarantee him comfort, and contribute to survival.

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Adjustive expressions. Up to this point discussion has been limited to aspects of utilitarianism revealed in adaptive remarks/others. We now propose to examine the expression of this dominant motivation in the individual's psychological adjustment to phenomena like time, direction, and concept formation.

The Indian's slight concern with abstract systems of generalization is reflected first in the relative timelessness of the people. The best apprehended divisions of time are either based on the alternation between night and day, the passage of seasons, or else derived from the duration of cultural tasks (such as the period of time required to build a toboggan, make snowshoes, or clean a hide). Superimposed upon these relatively concrete divisions of time are the introduced patterns of a more abstract apportioning of the day, month, and year. Why have the Indians been slow in converting themselves to the latter temporal divisions? Any explanation for this lag must take into account the dominant motivation which is threatened by these more abstract systems. Utilitarianism includes the need to be concrete. The abstract conception of time is meaningless, since it divorces the individual from realistically perceived units which he feels best suited to control.

This point of view may perhaps be better illustrated by abstract spatial orientation. The points of the compass mean little to the Kaska Indian. Instead, he equates himself to things of immediate personal significance, like the camp, a ridge, a range of hills, a river, or the direction of the current. The native patterns of temporal and spatial orientation may also be interpreted by saying that the concrete gives the Indian a sense of mastery, while the abstract means losing control. Mastery, therefore, is an aim of utilitarianism just as it is also related to egocentricity. In his orientation to time and space, the Kaska Indian is expressing both these dominant motivations in an attempt to preserve his self-sufficiency. It follows that any increasing readiness and ability to accept abstract temporal and spatial ideas would have to develop in terms of the native's world and self-views, or would follow from important basic personality changes.

Educational methods displayed in relation to children, with their neglect of principles and stress on learning by doing, also reflect the lack of motive to conceptualize, as well as the lack of interest in planning to which we will now turn attention.

Utilitarianism motivates the person's concrete attention to the present, whose significance is more readily perceived by the personality than past or future. The absence of idealizing or sentimental attitudes toward the past is related to both a focus on practical contemporary problems and an absence of intense interest in the future. As a result of an inability to reflect the past, the individual is unable to systematize his own life history beyond a series of sequential events, and often uninterested in even doing that within an orderly time frame. Examples of the inability to anticipate the future emotionally are provided from the ethnographer's discussion of the possibility that the Cassiar might become more familiar to white people, with a consequent influx of visitors. What would this mean to the Indian? Few men, with whom this potential problem was discussed, reacted to it with more than polite attention. The picture became even more extreme when individuals were hypothetically confronted with their own future. We have seen Gerald Leonard's reaction to this subject marked by a lack of personal ambition or aspiration and little evidence of genuine emotional interest.[11] Gerald is an adolescent. In Nitla, a young adult, we find even less in-

[11] See above, p. 130.

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[157] [181] terest in the future. Asked what he would do in, say, five years, Nitla replied in a manner suggesting that the whole notion of projecting himself that far ahead was incomprehensible. "I don't know," he said. "Sometime I want something. Five years more I want something. Sometimes a year I want something. Sometimes nothing. I wouldn't think about it. I don't figure up anything." The question was repeated and the subject echoed it, speaking half to himself. Then: "Don't know. I never think about it. I just look to eat . . . five years more I'm never think. I'm hungry . . . " Another words, Nitla is emotionally bound to the tangible reality of the present. Whereas the future is remote, its consideration inviting a wasteful disbursal of unproductive effort. Here, now, are the problems which he is best equipped to solve and that are most important.

The weak emotional valence exerted upon the utilitarian personality by the future is related to the scope of native divination and revelation. In these situations, especially with regard to intuition and dreaming, we find an expression of concrete immediate wishes. For example, the camp may be expecting the return of a youth, the people waiting for news or supplies which he will bring from the trading post. It is at such a time that a person may [787] experience a dream or omen pointing to the youth's return. Similarly a person who has planned to hunt the following day is encouraged by relatives with optimistic predictions of success. The only example of large scale prophecy came from Old Kean, and his statements, as already pointed out, met with little popular emotional interest.*

Expression in the Rorschach test situation. Our discussion has identified utilitarianism in practical and concrete thinking. Several Rorschach criteria may be regarded as indicators of such a style of mentation. Pointing to the percentage of animal associations as one index of "adaptive thinking at a peripheral level," Beck goes on to say: "The percentage of animal associations is the measure of the ability (a) to see what's there, and also (b) to free the perceptual activity from this easiest kind of reaction."* Animal responses thus reveal attention to the mundane and not only to specifically practical aspects of living. Klopfer and Kelley concur with this when they relate a high percentage of animal responses to a narrow range of interests.[17] The use of animal responses as an index to a motivation directing attention to practicality and the concrete poses another question. Would not a people closely familiar [171] with an animal environment tend to give more animal responses than a people in an urban area, whose principal experience is with people? Hallowell did not find this to occur among the Saulteaux, where the mean animal per cent obtained by him (47.8) compares closely to that which has been found in western society, namely, 46.87 per cent (S.D., 17.58).[18] The figure for Kaska adults, on the other hand, is significantly in excess of these figures, being 6[illegible] per cent. Homogeneity is indicated for the Kaska, since only five of the nineteen adult subjects produced fewer than fifty per cent animal associations. The interpretation

* This example gives us another interesting opportunity to test the theory of the devices as partly socially patterned. In Old Kean we find socially patterned behavior (prophecy) carried to an extreme point of idiosyncratic development, probably in order to express personal insecurity and hostility. See above, p. 14.

[17] Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 19.

[18] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 212-216.

[18] Hallowell, *The Rorschach Technique in the Study of Personality and Culture* (1945), 109. Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 19.

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follows that Kaska adult subjects, when compared to groups of western subjects or Saul- 157
teaux Indians, show a greater tendency for mundane and intellectually undifferentiated 181x
thinking. We conclude that excessive interest in practical and concrete thinking is revealed
in the Rorschach test by a high percentage of animal responses.

Adequate attention to the routine problems of living is further indicated by the position
of usual detail responses in the test. The mean adult figure of fifty-two per cent usual detail
responses indicates neither exaggerated nor underdeveloped attention to such obvious stimuli
but assumes greater significance in view of the fact that whole answers are significantly
below the norms determined for western test subjects. This indicates relatively little ability
for the Kaska to generalize and conceptualize. These findings are compatible with the per-
centage of animal responses, and together the three criteria identify the Kaska personality as
narrowly concerned with the concrete and obvious features of the environment.

There is also evidence that human movement responses are an index of interest in com-
prehending the world beyond practical and mundane levels. Beck relates human movement
to creativity.[illegible] Klopfer and Kelley associate human movement with imagination and power
of productive thinking.[illegible] Several human movement responses (M) are generally expected
in each record of a "normal" adult in western society and ideally human movement should
exceed animal movement associations (FM). Furthermore, if the sum of animal and inanimate
movement (FM + m) is more than one and a half times the number of human movement
associations, "inhibiting forces" are seen at work, leading to the expression of an "infantile
domination of instinctual drives."[illegible] The pertinent data for Kaska adults follow.

	Mean (R = 12.16)	Per Cent
M	1.16	5
FM	3.32	15
m	—	—

Interpreted by means of the criteria given above, the low mean of human movement
responses indicates a limited capacity for imaginative thinking, such as would indicate
departure from preoccupation with concrete and obvious problems of daily life. Animal
movement is seen about two and a half times more often than human movement, indicating
"that a subject is emotionally infantile living on a level of instinctive prompting below his
chronological or mental age."[illegible] To conclude, the avoidance of abstract thinking in the
Kaska adult is at least partly related to the basic utilitarian motivation, which focusses at-
tention on practical situations of daily life, whose mastery rewards the individual with
feelings of self-sufficiency. Below it will become apparent that adaptation on this level further
stems from emotional inhibitions, placed on intellectual creativity, by unconscious needs for
safety and protection.[illegible]

[illegible] Beck, Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures (1945), 24-25.
[illegible] Klopfer and Kelley, The Rorschach Technique (1942), 276-278.
[illegible] Klopfer and Kelley, The Rorschach Technique (1942), 280.
[illegible] Klopfer and Kelley, The Rorschach Technique (1942), 279.
[illegible] See below, p. [illegible].

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157 x 181 *Reality systems.* Kardiner has found it useful to distinguish between two types of reality systems.[86] Both have emotional components, but the first is derived from empirical sources while the second is of projective origin, being related to early experiences of the individual. A less developed projective system, Kardiner says, may be correlated with a greater degree of adaptability.[87] It goes without saying that an empirical reality system is also influenced by the individual's early life. For our present purpose we may distinguish between these two reality systems on the basis of whether they rely on empirical or mystical explanations for phenomena.

Utilitarianism among the Kaska is associated with a moderately developed empirical and a more restricted projective reality system. Illness, death, and a host of other experiences tend to be explained in empirical terms, or with reliance on deductive reasoning and analogy rather than on mystical apprehensions. We are thus returned to the earlier formulation of moderate ego strength as a characteristic of Kaska personality. Just as the empirical reality system tends to affirm ego strength, the ethological significance of the projective reality system is to deny the fortitude of the ego. Projective thought comes into operation as a result of the passivity which chronically underlies the person's self-sufficiency. Projective thinking among the Kaska is distinguished by a desire to avoid offense to the supernatural lest trouble befall the individual. Some loose integration of Christian attitudes toward the supernatural has also occurred, the emphasis in these being to solicit help from the supernatural in order to avoid trouble. Many of the dominant motivations, whose operations will now be described, have as their goal a passive adjustment to reality. Among other things we will note their relation to the projective reality system.

Résumé. Utilitarianism has been described to show its functions in assuring the adaptation and psychological adjustment of the individual. Characterized by resourcefulness, ingenuity, and concrete thinking along practical lines, this dominant motivation organizes experience in a manner designed to guard against the need for passive adjustments. In association with a lack of concern for perfectionism, art, and beauty, utilitarianism serves to concentrate energy on elemental survival needs. It is related to a moderately developed empirical reality system, an underemphasis of abstract, speculative systematization, and lack of serious or careful planning toward the future.

Deference

156 x 181 Deference denotes a dominant motivation directed to maintaining warm human relations, that provide assurance of the individual being liked and respected. The expression of deference is marked by care to avoid arousing anger or hostility and by conscious antipathy to aggression.

128 x 181 First we shall consider the expression of deference in behavior and ideas, followed by consideration of the hostility component in Kaska personality, and opportunities taken for the discharge of aggression.

156 x 181 *Expression of deference.* The importance of deference in an atomistic social structure need

[86] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 58-96.

[87] "... a society which is dominated by projective techniques lacks adaptability...." Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 44.

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father, River Joe, suggests that the ethnographer's family looks ill fed. Here we see Old Man's anxious anticipation of the gossip which will be set in operation when the women reach Louis's place and ask for food. River Joe will surely seize upon this lack of food as a sign that Old Man did not take proper care of his white visitors. Old Man knew that Louis and River Joe both had warned the ethnographer about the "poor place" Old Man had to offer. The dream therefore expresses an aggressive wish that his enemies' tongues should become unable to gossip. By reference to the principle of condensation, we understand the first Mrs. Mann to stand for her father, River Joe; for her husband, and for her sister, the present Mrs. Mann. The first Mrs. Mann was "mean"; this fact helps to explain her selection by the dream work in an attempt to characterize all of her referents as unpleasant people. The evil nature of gossip is revealed in the association to the dreaded gutter. Up to this point the dream strives to express Old Man's fear of hostility as well as the accompanying aggression against his enemies.

But the dream also refers to Lady Suza. Apparently (in the dream) River Joe had insinuated that Old Man was cohabiting with this woman. During the previous summer, River Joe had unsuccessfully attempted to secure Lady Suza as his wife. Now Old Man "has" her, at least in the sense that she is sharing his house. Old Man, however, often complained about this woman eating his grub. Is this dream then also an expression of guilt because of his lack of generosity? That suggestion gains support when the conjunction of Lady Suza and the ethnographer is considered. Old Man sts chafing under this woman's stay in his home but the ethnographer is also borrowing food which Old Man cannot refuse to lend. In the dream he resents both the woman's and the ethnographer's drain on his limited resources, but feels guilty about his resentment and also dreads being gossiped about as a stingy host. The denial of sexual interest stands for a denial of general, emotional interest in Lady Suza's well being, an interest that Old Man cannot afford to develop. The episode of the short net, which is a reference to Old Man's reduced powers as a food getter, adds more to the interpretation. He secures only one whitefish. That being the case, how can he be expected to provide for so many people? The last note in the dream, therefore, recognizes the essential and unavoidable truth in the gossip (Old Man's settlement was short of grub), which Old Man would like to stop, figuratively by tying up his enemies' mouths.

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In Kaska society intoxication often results in the release of a portion of the hostility component, and for a number of men such behavior can usually be accurately predicted. Under alcohol rational controls largely disappear, so that an individual is sometimes overwhelmed by the excitement of his unharnessed impulses. This theory explains the outbursts of rage, hostility, and catastrophic reactions that sometimes appear with drinking and of which many people in the community are afraid. Generally, however, drunkenly expressed hostility is not completely undirected. A subliminal measure of control over the labile excitement is maintained, and for this reason drunken aggression is usually focussed upon the continuation of past quarrels, traditional enemies, fancied aggressors, or (as sometimes happens) strangers within the tribal district. It is also noticeable that, following a prolonged series of hostile attacks, swearing, and violence, aggression is finally directed toward the self. A number of men and women were observed who, at the height of intoxication, began to moan, sob, cry for their mothers, or wildly condemned themselves for being "no good."

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Sometimes men turned from such a mixture of self-pity and self-recrimination to outright attempts at suicide.

The dynamics of attempted suicide in Kaska society are extremely interesting, their interpretation contributing much to our understanding of deference. The goal of deference has been defined as warm human relations; from the psychiatric standpoint this is equivalent to saying that the goal of deference is love. Consciously, it must be made clear, the Kaska does not so much want to be liked as not to be disliked. The significance of this statement will be further clarified in connection with emotional isolation. Kaska individuals are afraid of giving offense and arousing hostility in a wide circle of human relationships, because they are anxious lest they be disliked. Evidence comes from the fact that people are readily hurt or offended. Thus, Nitla's fear that his father-in-law would hear a false story about how he had neglected Adele led to his desire to tell his wife's father his side of the story so that the latter would not dislike him. Old Man once expressed a complaint that Louis Man was receiving visitors from downriver, but that nobody was continuing upriver to his place. Visitors are an assurance of popularity, so that a lack of them suggests being disliked. Unquestionably an attitude which fears dislike equals an unconscious fear of the loss of love plus the desire for love. It is against this theoretical backdrop that we may understand the significance of attempted suicide following a sequence of hostile and uncontrolled behavior. By his aggressive behavior the intoxicated individual violates personal standards of deference, betrays hostility, and earns the loss of love. Guilt follows and, while intoxication continues to reduce the efficiency of the egocentric defenses, he reacts to this guilt by a sudden reversal of activity. Aggression and hostility are deflected toward the self and this reversal leads to such behavior as Edward Prince manifested just before he attempted suicide, complaining that he was all alone in the world without relatives; or else the individual announces his intention of self-destruction. The function of this announcement is clear. It is a plea for help and a defense guaranteeing that the attempt will be unsuccessful. People immediately rush to stop the suicide. This is the would-be victim's pay-off. In the attention he receives, he is assured of the affectionate regard which a moment ago he so strongly doubted. By this time the attempt is a thing of the past. The gun has been safely thrown away, the anxiety of loss of love and assurances of love pile up in the catharsis of emotion that typically terminates a sequence of hostility. From now on defenses can once more restore the emotional isolation of the personality which alcohol tore down. While all self-pity in intoxication is expressive of an unconscious demand for love, not all such emotional expression is immediately determined by aggression released during intoxication. It may also be a result of the affect hunger which the individual feels more keenly while his defenses have been reduced by alcohol.[9] Some reported episodes of psychotic behavior may also be regarded as representing a disintegration of deference and the exposure of the individual to the excitement of hostile impulses which he can no longer control.

Not the whole of the hostility component is reserved for spectacular explosions under intoxication. We have already dealt sufficiently with gossip to make clear the fact that this form of aggression draws upon a chronic store of hostility. Many people are neither gossips nor do they manifest rage and aggression under intoxication. The majority of people are

[9] Affect hunger will be discussed more fully in connection with emotional isolation (see below, p. 187).

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

"good" drinkers, in whom the relaxation of conscious control is not followed by abnormal behavior.

A few socially permitted forms of releasing hostility are available. The wrestling of young men appears to serve this function. Such behavior (as, for example, when it was observed between John Enus and his brother, Nitli) often becomes grim and serious, only the laughter of the onlookers preventing it from taking the form of a serious expression of hostility. Another potential channel for releasing hostility is gambling. The high appeal of gambling, the intense preoccupation in the stick game, the use of the word "kill" to denote the elimination of an opponent, the joy displayed when the gamer has been outwitted, and the disappointment in defeat, all point to this situation as of great emotional significance. These facts make it likely that gambling is unconsciously conceived as a channel for expressing aggression. The dancelike body rhythm accompanied by the drumming offers an opportunity for a somatic discharge of repressed emotion. When one refers to the intensity with which two dominant men like Nick Lang and Louis Mann played against one another, the scornful clowning of Louis on another occasion, and the fact that gambling games are sometimes broken up through quarreling, the interpretation of gambling as a socially permitted form of releasing aggressive impulses is strengthened.

It is of course obvious that such permitted forms of release, provided they do not culminate in open hostility, are not in conflict with the dominant motivation of deference. Rather an adequate number of such situations might insure the better preservation of the value, by preventing a dangerous accumulation of repressed hostility.

Expression in the Rorschach test situation. There are no satisfactory criteria for judging aggressiveness or its absence in the Rorschach situation. Responses involving scenes of aggression or hostile animals have sometimes been interpreted to indicate aggressive impulses. Both types of answers are inconspicuous in Kaska records. On the other hand, a number of responses to be discussed in connection with subsequent motivations offer insight into how the Kaska behave in social relations in order to reduce the danger of open conflict. The significance of these responses for the question of deference will be pointed out.

Résumé. Data have been presented and analyzed to show the operation of deference as a dominant motivation which defines potentially hostile situations as threatening and patterns their avoidance. The motivation aims at maintaining warm human relations and guarding against threats of the loss of love. Safety lies in tact or (to use a word familiar to the Kaska) in refusing to "bother" others and in evading all situations of being bothered. Under alcohol, inhibitions of hostility sometimes become reduced. Such instances, as well as dreams, reveal a considerable component of repressed hostility.

The efficiency of deference lies chiefly in the fact that it succeeds in curbing open interpersonal aggression in an atomistic society by confining it to relatively harmless forms. As deference results in the accumulation of hostility, from which unconscious anxiety may be generated, its efficacy becomes reduced. Under conditions of a surfeit of hostility and derived anxiety, it is not likely that the goal of deference—warm human relations—will be subjectively realized. Rather, under such conditions, the individual will feel uncertain of how closely he is living up to his demand for deference and also insecure regarding how well he is liked by his society.

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Flexibility

The term flexibility denotes a complex of motivation in which concepts ke necessity, hurry, and duty are subordinated to circumstance and personal inclination. he expression of the motivation is marked by relaxed modes of procedure and tolerant, even ndecisive, attitudes toward the demands of living. Negatively, flexibility may be described as lacking compulsive trends like rigidity and perfectionism, nor does it stress conscious attention to routine or careful planning.

Before proceeding to illustrate the general expression of this dominant otivation, an attempt will be made to explain how flexibility is related to the low development of a capacity for realistic planning. Following consideration of miscellaneous forms of expression, closer attention will be paid to procrastination as a feature of Kaska behavior and, finally, flexibility will be studied from its manifestations in the Rorschach situation.

Planning. Planning is related to the organizing and systematizing capacities of the personality. In connection with utilitarianism, we have already shown how the emotional need for concreteness limits the ability for abstract organization (what might be called the "creative act"). As far as ideas of futurity are concerned, immediate problems and situations are of far greater significance to the utilitarian motivation than prospects which are remote in time. As a result, planning for future goals receives little attention. In the study of the relationship of planning to flexibility, two types of planning are seen. The first organizes behavior in which the end lies in the relative present (building a house or setting brew) while the second directs behavior in which the goal is in the future (trapping in order to insure a good standard of living the following winter). We will discuss each of these types.

Unless behaving in an habitual manner, the Kaska Indian appears unable to adhere to a sequence of causally related activities whose end lies in the relative present. This was demonstrated when Richard Day and a Tahltan youth announced the intention of setting a brew in the bush. Richard first forgot to buy the ingredients, making it necessary to use the other boy's supplies. It was then discovered that the brew barrel was in Richard's house, where Edward Prince was also living. Because of his tendency to drink unready liquor, Edward could not safely be told of the brew before its completion. The barrel, therefore, had to be secured without Edward's knowledge. A good way of doing this, Richard decided, was to have a dance and, while Edward was fiddling, Richard would slip away and cache the barrel. The dance was held as planned but Richard became interested in "bothering" Jones Beaver, and as a result never left the dancehouse. The brew was postponed until the following day. Often people do not even try to plan their behavior systematically. Rarely do people come to a store knowing in detail what must be purchased. As a result, shopping is a slow process in which the buyer often uses the mercantile display to remind him of his needs. Actually few activities are undertaken with a plan. Either the individual operates through a series of automatic habits or muddles through by making adjustments as required. Watching Richard and his Tahltan companion finally set brew, one got the impression that they had no clearly conceptualized notion of the total process of which the separate acts were parts. After each step they stopped to discuss what was next in order. Such lack of planning often results in being unprepared to complete an activity. A house begun in the fall is often left unfinished for a year, until the builder can, for example, secure

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

additional materials to complete the roof whose requirements were underestimated. Lack of preparedness was evidenced when Irene Wiley, after heating water to wash clothes, discovered that she lacked soap powder.

All of these behaviors, involving planning for relatively immediate goals, reveal not only utilitarian antipathy to conceptualization and systematization, but are also relaxed, indecisive modes of attending to problems of living. They reveal the operation of a flexible motivation that is not bound by rigorous rules. In packing and storage we find a similar lack of compulsive order, no indication of a notion like: "A place for everything and everything in its place." Consequently, houses and camps furnish a picture of considerable confusion, despite which, given time (and time is not a Kaska value), a required object can usually be found. Lack of physical ordering is carried over into the lack of any purposeful ground plan where people camp or in the placing of buildings within a winter settlement. In these situations Kaska behavior is also motivated by personal inclination.

In company with poor systematization, we find grandiose planning. A social event, like a potlatch, gambling game, or dance, for which there is strong anticipation, often results in exaggerated ideas of its scope. An example of this tendency occurred in connection with the first potlatch, when Louis Maza enthusiastically declared: "That potlatch keep a-going." River Joe agreed equally heartily, saying: "Have fun! Six days! Nobody stop that potlatch. Police can't stop him. Injun law!" Obviously the hosts were not buying enough food for six days of feasting but, we thought, perhaps they would initiate various entertainments during the week. Nobody, however, mentioned entertainment. Originally a midday and an evening dinner were planned for the first day of the potlatch. When the shortage of vegetables was noted, the plans were altered, it being decided to eat once, at midday, and then serve tea and refreshments in the late afternoon. The festival actually began at seven o'clock in the evening, with none of the other plans materializing. Such exaggeration was possible, and wishes were free to be expressed, because of the absence of any realistic conceptualization of the total situation.

Unrealistic planning was also illustrated when River Joe engaged a bulldozer to build a road on an Indian reserve without first ascertaining the cooperativeness of the other members of the community, or whether they would, as he expected, contribute to the expense of the project. As a result of his enthusiasm, Joe paid the major share of the cost himself and subsequently had further cause to regret his zeal, when the road opened the reserve to police cars.

In discussing planning toward future ends, we find ourselves confronted by an apparent contradiction. We have characterized Kaska personality by a tendency to ignore future responsibilities, but we must now account for future ideals like saving, being prepared with grub for trapping, and trapping toward an adequate standard of living during the following year. Partial explanation lies in the relative emotional strength of these conflicting attitudes. One set is more congruent to the basic motivations than the other. This is demonstrated by the fact that, although voiced, future ideals are not easily implemented by action. We may adopt Horney's distinction between beliefs and values to conceptualize the difference more sharply.[20] Beliefs are relatively superficial attitudes, which are not deeply

[20] Horney, *Our Inner Conflicts* (1945), 25-26.

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rooted in the dominant motivations and produce a weak emotional response. Values, on the other hand, are more congruent with the dominant motivations, emotionally more important to the personality, and become expressed in behavior. Ideas of saving and preparedness also represent beliefs rather recently acquired from white trappers, traders, and missionaries. Their integration with basic motives is still to take place.

Obviously future ideals, when they become conditioned to important values like comfort and survival, are proven desirable from experience. Energetic trapping, for example, is generally recognized as a means of getting a larger amount and richer variety of food. As acquired beliefs assume increasing importance, they promise satisfactions like greater self-sufficiency and resourcefulness, but also become threatening to a personality which dislikes the effort and duty that they entail. In other words, a conflict between goals ensues, flexibility on the one hand, egocentricity and utilitarianism on the other. As a result of this conflict, anxiety is aroused and promotes various defense reactions. The individual talks of working hard, "rustling," and makes other grandiose plans, but shows little effort to carry these projects into practice.

Flexibility, therefore, is revealed in the lack of realistic long range planning, and this gives Kaska culture its superficial flavor of spontaneity and informality. Dances and gambling games may be anticipated for a day or more, but, because nobody feels inclined or (as a result of the underdevelopment of leadership patterns) able to assume the function of rigid organization, seldom get started until quite late some evening. Lumber is hewed and whipsawed when needed and in the quantity required. A supply of cut firewood in the bush is seldom sufficient to last beyond about two months, and more than one or two days' supply is never found in camp. When tracts of land are fired to dry wood for fuel, too little may be dried with the result that by spring people are reported to burn large amounts of green wood. Lack of foresight occurs in connection with buying winter supplies, some things invariably being forgotten. The disturbance occasioned by shortages is usually slight, never leading to recriminations within a family or producing masochistic self-devaluation, such as might be expected from a perfectionistic personality in western society. There are even avoidances supporting flexibility as, for example, attitudes associating danger with the manufacture of snowshoes before there is snow on the ground, or with striving too intensely for success in trapping.

A striking expression of lax planning is encountered in the training of dogs. The Indians attempt to teach dogs to obey a few simple commands, but confess their lack of success in this effort. Old Man admitted that white men trained dogs far more successfully. Much of the poor care and irregular feeding that dogs receive can be traced to the absence of rigidly planned routines in which regular feeding is perceived as duty; thus people often "forget" to feed their dogs.

By way of partial summary, it may be said that relaxed attitudes toward future goals are motivated by flexibility and represent an attempt to preserve egocentric mastery in a setting of moderate ego development. An effort is made to circumscribe the field of participation in order to avoid any too great testing of the limits of personal responsibility for success and failure. We see now why utilitarian preoccupation with concreteness, or intellectual circumscription, is not only self-assertive but also influenced by needs of ego safety. Speculation and planning beyond immediate necessity are anxiety provoking to an ego that

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157 181 does not feel itself capable of coping with the additional problems introduced by too broad a world view.

There are some men, like Nick Lang, who are capable of greater far sightedness and more compulsive work habits than most individuals in the society. In Kaska culture such deviant behavior may be partly understood as the result of a person having learned new defenses against inadequacy, new ways of directing egocentric expression. What personal factors are further involved in acquiring these new habits depends on the individual's life history. To the majority of Indians, flexibility in the setting of moderate ego development make impossible any intensely striving behavior.

Other forms of expression. Many other expressions of flexibility occurring in daily life may be briefly described. Most routine situations, for example, are never marked by hurry or regarded as duty. There are no rigid programs for getting through the day's work; there is scarcely even a conception of what a normal day's work entails. People cook when hungry and wash dishes when the opportunity suits; clothing is laundered when a suitable amount of dirty garments have accumulated; water is fetched when the supply in the house is exhausted; wood is cut or hauled in the evening after depleting the household pile. By comparing the attitudes governing these simple behaviors to the emotional significance which such commonplace routines hold in other groups (the local white trappers, for example), one can understand how little compulsion the Kaska have to work against time or out of a sense of duty and preparedness.

The same quality of being unburdened by duty or obligation also characterizes the socially patterned guilt system of the society. While the operation of a superego pressure toward conformity can scarcely be questioned, there is no doubt but that the Kaska conscience accords with the general loose comprehension of necessity. The Indian reveals no need for expiation, no strong drives for atonement. People are not weighted down with an overwhelming sense of guilt; on the contrary, pangs of conscience are transitory and soon worn off or forgotten. Because the superego does not lead to self-abnegation or self-debasement, it is also congruent with the vital interests of egocentricity. Only during the temporary loss of rational control, as we have described, do suicidal attempts reveal the abrogation of mastery and betray intense pressure of guilt.

The overall expression of flexibility is found in the low development of formalized ways of behaving and the lack of any formal social control. Despite somewhat fanciful references to "Injun law," the society is not interested in codifying activity. There is no authority to define the limits or patterns of adult behavior once these have received their initial direction in childhood. Certain acts are, of course, traditionally expected from everyone, or are required for survival and adjustment, but there are few explicit rules to which the individual's performance must conform. Behavior primarily originates with ego and is often as unplanned by himself as by his group.

Before approaching the operation of flexibility in crises, let us review the functions of flexible modes of procedure so far described. Primarily they represent techniques of maintaining egocentric independence and self-sufficiency by ruling out definitions of urgency in everyday routines. Flexibility offers a means of getting through life with greatest psychic economy. Duty, planning, necessity, and hurry represent patterns of striving which are incommensurate with the potentialities of the Kaska ego.

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Procrastination. It is in approaching the expression of flexibility in procrastinating behavior that the functions of defense associated with this dominant motivation become clearest. In subjectively defined crises, the dynamics of flexibility may be understood as an attempt to protect the individual from the anxiety concomitant to any activity which threatens the egocentric, utilitarian, and other motivations with failure to maintain the integrity of the individual. A crisis to the Indian is not only a threat imperiling life (here, however, procrastination would scarcely be attempted), but is any situation in which he is confronted by a need for action, the rewards of which are highly uncertain or that compel more effort or cooperation than is congenial to his egocentric disposition. Procrastination, therefore, is to be regarded as an unconscious maneuver for escaping unmanageable stimuli crowding upon a personality directed toward individualistic self-sufficiency or emotional isolation. Such crises occur in both the adaptive and adjustive spheres of the culture. 157 181

Examples of procrastination are numerous. When the Upper Liard Indians were camping at the Highway crossing, Louis Maza and River Joe talked for several days of setting a fish net in order to supplement their dog food. Finally, one evening, they actually got together and began to disentangle the net, only to be distracted by the arrival of some white people. The work was dropped and the net never set. In the technical culture we fully documented the procedure followed in getting started to trap and the delay in trapping that is likely to ensue once a man returns to the winter settlement. When the ethnographer was ready to return to Lower Post from Old Man's place, the tendency to procrastinate assumed vexing proportions. Our own food supply was low. Harry Lang and others were borrowing staples from Old Man, who himself lacked lard and butter and was down to his last two tins of baking powder. A trip to the trading post was urgent and the weather, having turned somewhat milder, made travel conditions excellent. On November 24, Harry complained of his shortages and promised to run his line in three days in order to rush to the post with his brother-in-law, Hans Donnelly. This was either an example of grandiose planning or tactful lying. He left for the line two days later, while Hans, telling the ethnographer he would be back in four days, did not leave till the following day. Harry returned on December 4 (a total absence of eight days) and began stretching his skins. Hans returned on December 7 (ten days after his departure) and brought back part of a cow moose. Meanwhile Old Man left for his line and the sons-in-law talked of waiting for his return, although Old Man did not expect us to delay for this purpose. The meat, of course, reduced the immediate pressure of food shortage, but the small amount of baking powder remaining necessitated the laborious task of making yeast bread. Nevertheless, the trip to Lower Post did not get under way until December 10, and then only after insistent urging and bribing on the part of the ethnographer. Undoubtedly if it were not for this pressure the trip would have been delayed until the return of Old Man, a matter of at least another week.

Most people act quickly in adapting to dangers, like cold weather, and sometimes in emergencies, like illness. More often the typical reaction to sickness is compounded of helplessness, fear, and delay. Such attitudes are both expressive of a lack of techniques for meeting the threat of illness and an attempt to shut out the emotionally upsetting affects of the situation. Thus, we observed Harry Lang refuse to do anything about his wife's badly infected ear and, despite the fact that she was in severe pain, reject the idea that she needed medical attention. Old Man himself was much surprised when Louis Maza made a hurried

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trip to the airport with his ailing infant son (Louis' only living boy). "What he rush for?" Old Man asked. "There's nothing the matter with that baby."

In adjustive situations, procrastination manifests itself in easy promises which are not regarded as binding. Such promises, as already mentioned, are a way of warding off insistence without hostility and, since they are not made seriously, protect the individual's initiative and independence from tasks requiring unnecessary and troublesome effort. Sometimes promises have the character of grandiose planning, and in that way serve to give a false sense of personal capacity. Thus Peter Tom gained pleasure in assuring the ethnographer that he would guide him downriver to Lower Post and even would lend him his dogs. When this spontaneous promise was subsequently recalled to Peter, the latter again affirmed what he had said. A date was specified for the trip and a reminder sent to Peter, but the youth never showed up to keep the appointment. Later it was also found out that "his" dogs in reality belonged to Louis Man.

The essentially passive nature of procrastination is revealed following a failure to solve compelling interpersonal problems. Under such circumstances, the individual is sharply confronted with his own helplessness; this leads to consciously expressed worry, signs of unconscious anxiety, and attempts to withdraw from the overwhelming situation.

In Nitla we can see the inability to cope with inevitable interpersonal problems of emotional intensity, for which no society can provide wholly satisfactory solutions. Nitla's interviews, following his wife's desertion, provide a record of chronic worry following from his inability to handle his current problems. The situation confused the husband excessively. He sought help from older men as well as from the priest, but there was little these people could do to solve Nitla's predicament. In early August the young man came to Lower Post to buy a tent in order to remove one excuse which Adele gave for living with her brother-in-law. Having no money and being a comparative stranger in this part of the Kaska area (most of his life was spent at Frances Lake), he could not obtain goods on credit. He was also reluctant to remain in the town to work, giving the excuse that his wife was at the Bridge twenty-three miles away. Despite this excuse, a good part of July and August were spent in Lower Post. His worry and confusion are revealed in the following: "I like to go today. Can't make it. No tent. I hope the Father come down. I hope he do it today. My goodness. I want to get my money [the missionary owed him a few dollars for a day's work at the Bridge] . . . I'm looking for my money. I want to get tent. I get tent, get little eat something, I come back. I get little job. I want some money all right."

When society is unable to provide formal solutions for intense personal problems, their successful solution depends on the relative strength of the ego. For the Kaska, complex problems quickly overwhelm the potentialities of the ego, giving rise to the characteristic response of withdrawal from the disruptive stimulus. Behavior like procrastination, indecisiveness, and vacillation are signs of threat to the ego and also results of the absence of more assertive coping techniques. Obviously procrastination cannot solve vital conflicts in interpersonal relations; we therefore always find in the wake of a passive solution some residual component of conscious worry or unconscious anxiety and repressed hostility. This may be further illustrated with reference to Old Man, who volunteered to help Nitla by speaking to John Kean. As a result of his interference, Old Man earned his former son-in-law's en-

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mity and was even physically threatened by John. Any further attempt to assert himself was now blocked, as much by Old Man's high regard for deference as by his passivity. In the following dream Old Man reveals his anxiety; he expresses his hostility to John by transferring its functions to a stronger and more capable person.

> 9:5:45 (Old Kean's Place). "I dream a plane land here. Police come out from plane. They tried to slap Nitla's little girl. They figured they'd start John fighting. 'If he look for fight we're gonna take him,' they said. 'Go ahead,' I said. They went down. I heard little girl cry. John put his sleeves back and police got him. I woke up. My old lady sit on my feet." The subject denied any conception of the dream's meaning [unconscious resistance]. "Two Mounted Police come off," he repeated. "We'd like to know John,' they say. 'We just find out what he's gonna do.' They took a long time afterwards. . . . They grab him, two of them." Old Man then went on to talk of the lack of any medicines to use for his wife's present illness. He said that the ethnographer's bullion cubes had saved Mrs. Man's life the previous year. "When she start feel bad she like I sit 'long side her all the time. She wouldn't let me go."

The dream portrays Old Man permitting the police (symbol of authority and strength) to avenge him with his passive approval. In the associations he denies his hostility and anxiety, appeals to the ethnographer for the latter's sympathy, and tries to solace his helplessness by the security of his wife's presence.

Sometimes dreams fail to provide any solution for the latent anxiety and feeling of ego inadequacy which they reveal. John Kean's dream mentioned in connection with sexual impotence, provides such an instance. Another anxiety dream, marked by a lack of any assertive solution, is taken from the record of Gerald Leonard (14).

> 7:6:45 (Lower Post). Sometimes I dream something bad come to you, some bad animal. I^m jump up in bed. No good. Sometimes you dream you got no gun. Bad animal come at you. No good. Jump up in tree.

A denial of anxiety by the conscious repudiation of worry is a familiar pattern among these people and one that prompts white men to affirm that Indians never worry. Old Man, early in the second season of field work, denied that he worried, but projected such emotions into other men. "I never worry about money," he said. "Some people worry, worry. Like to make lots of money, good time in summer. But I never think about anything. Lots of people worry. Louis Maza, he's the one worries about money. Old Kean, he worries . . . worry about his country, trap line . . . Dick Mountain, he's worry man. . . ." Subsequent data indicate quite clearly that Old Man is not blessed with freedom from anxiety although he quite characteristically seeks to minimize the emotion. In Peter Tom's case worry over having spat blood was revealed only during intoxication and strongly denied when sober.

The essentially passive nature of flexible responses to crises may be regarded as an answer to threat experienced by the moderately developed Kaska ego. Crisis situations, whether internal (like anxiety) or external to the individual, are themselves largely the products of unassertive ego functions. Their significance as threatening leads to a renewed attempt by the individual to remove himself from the scene of disturbance without radically coming to grips with the problem.

Expression in the Rorschach test situation. In studying expressions of flexibility in the

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157 181 Rorschach situation, attention may first be called to the manner in which the test was apprehended by the Indians. Schachtel has pointed out that "uncbliging" persons are among those who give few responses to the test "because of their resistance to the test situation as they define it."[28] Evidence of resistance among Kaska adults comes from the fact that, although the mean number of responses (22.16) is normal when judged by western standards, a high degree of deviation (20.9) reveals a significant skewing of scores. Inspection of the adult records indicates the main reason for skewing lies in the fact that ten out of nineteen adult subjects each produced fewer than fifteen responses, while two others produced seventeen and twenty responses respectively.

A clue to the nature of the resistance comes from an examination of the method of approach. For the Kaska adults, approach may be shown as (*W*), *D*, *Dd S!!!!*, indicating significantly greater attention to small unusual than to whole and usual details. A record of this type may reveal an appreciation for unusual aspects of life, but, as Schachtel has pointed out, unusual detail responses "are very often the expression of a definition of the Rorschach situation—and of the subject's life situation in any other interpersonal relationship—in ambivalent terms. On the one hand he 'submits' to the situation defined in authoritarian terms; on the other he evades or rebels against the 'authority' and tries to assert himself by clinging to minor details instead of dealing frontally with essentials."[29] Reference back to the resistance inferred from the relatively few associations given by the majority of adults makes it likely that the excessive concentration on petty details among the Kaska can be explained in Schachtel's terms. The Kaska, unable to refuse the test assertively (lest they imperil the value of deference and arouse hostility), vaccillate just as they do in their promises and in instances of procrastination. Petty detail responses "have the function of asserting oneself in a negative or petty way where insecurity and fear block an open and direct self-assertion."[30]

This interpretation now permits us to assess the constraint which adults and children exhibited in taking the test and the discomfort which made it necessary to abandon that portion of the test situation in which the spontaneous responses are redirected to the subject's attention, with the request that he indicate the manner in which he formed his perceptions. The restlessness during the first showing of the cards signalized a threat to the ego from which complete withdrawal was impossible and to which a passive adjustment was offered. In the inquiry, the pressure of the situation grew so severe, the threat so intense (often people refused to answer, looking around as though for escape, and seizing on distractions), that, charitably, the effort had to be abandoned.

We conclude that adult subjects' responses to the Rorschach situation reveal many of the qualities already cited as flexible expressions toward subjectively defined crisis situations. The goal of the average subject was withdrawal from the intensity of the situation but, under pressure of deferent motives, this could not be done self-assertively. Independence was also threatened, and the conflict between motivations produced further unconscious anxiety.

[28] Schachtel, *Subjective Definition of the Rorschach Test Situation* (1943), 433.
[29] Schachtel, *Subjective Definition of the Rorschach Test Situation* (1943), 441.
[30] Schachtel, *Subjective Definition of the Rorschach Test Situation* (1943), 442.

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Other criteria of the Rorschach test suggest themselves for verifying flexibility. Rorschach writers have pointed to succession (or the sequential use of wholes and details within the responses to each card) as a measure of intellectual efficiency. Beck points out that succession "demonstrates habits of controlled method," ranging from rigid procedure to the unpredictable procedures of the confused schizophrenics."[31] Succession may also be regarded as revealing effort at mastery of upsetting problems and affects. Due to the small number of responses, succession could not be judged from over fifty per cent of the adult records. We assume that this is in itself of a certain significance as far as the coping techniques of the subjects is concerned. Not only is failure to produce the expected number of responses related to resistance, but it reflects the process of psychic economics referred to above. By refusing to become too concerned with the stimuli, the subjects spared themselves the effort of controlling their procedure. In cases where judgements of sequence were possible, the range of succession types is between orderly and loose. "An orderly succession," write Klopfer and Kelley, "represents in most cases the optimum for intellectual efficiency," while "Loose succession is to be found where mental capacity is not high enough to grasp a logical order fully or where the mental control for maintaining such an order is weakened," as, for example, through emotional interferences.[32]

The conclusion can be drawn that in type of succession Kaska adult subjects exhibit a flexible mode of response. They avoid rigid procedure and reveal a tendency to resist the compulsion of order and planning, due to the fear of straining ego potentialities.

Another feature of the Rorschach test with significance to the present discussion is the ratio of whole to movement responses. Klopfer and Kelley point out that "the quotient W:M can be used as an indicator for what may be described as the relationship between drive for intellectual conquest and personal productive capacity to make these conquests substantial. People with a great predominance of W, say with at least three or four times as many W's as M's, seem always to be lacking in the best use of their creative or productive powers."[33] The mean ratio for nineteen adult Kaska subjects is 3.53 *W* to 1.16 *M*; that is, there are about three times as many whole as movement responses. Interpreted according to the former authors, we may conclude that Kaska adults do not express a drive for the intellectual organization or planning of their lives and activities. The question of what constitutes "the best use of creative or productive powers" must vary with the group involved and its cultural standards. By avoiding a high degree of organization the Kaska are living up to the capacities of their ego development and preserving maximum psychic economy. Furthermore, planning is relatively unimportant in many (but not all) aspects of the culture. It is interesting to note, in view of the small number of *M* answers, Israeli's statement, that the organization of planning "requires daring and bold imagination."[34]

Finally we may note the assumption that movement responses are representative of the activities of the superego.[35] If there is any validity to this observation, the low mean number

[31] Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 17–18.
[32] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 273.
[33] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 277–278.
[34] Israeli, *Originality in Planning* (1945), 139.
[35] Aptekhtef, *Rorschach Theory and Psychoanalytic Theory* (1944), 190.

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of movement responses (for adults, 1.6) may further corroborate our description of the relatively mild Kaska guilt system.

Résumé. Data have been presented and analyzed to demonstrate flexibility as a basic motivation functioning in many cultural situations to maintain maximum psychic economy by protecting the ego from undue stress and from excessive burdens incompatible with other dominant motivations. In crises flexibility represents a passive defense against stimuli, whose emotional intensity is perceived as disproportionate to the tonicity of the ego and therefore threatening to the self-assertive motivations. Flexibility determines behavior whose predominant aim is to maintain invulnerability by defending the individual from situations with which he cannot cope self-assertively or which seem beyond his capacity to master.

The efficiency of such a form of defense must be judged within a specific cultural context. By protecting the Kaska individual from undue anxiety and excessive stress, flexible modes of procedure are compatible manifestations of a personality whose ego is moderately developed and whose dominant motivations stress independence, deference, and emotional isolation. When forms of defense lead to the accumulation of unsolved problems, worry, and anxiety, or when they interfere with the achievement of other values (like sufficient and varied food and comfort for survival), their efficiency becomes questionable, since they fail both to achieve their own, and block the realization of other, vital goals. While such results sometimes occur with serious anxiety provoking effect, among the Kaska, additional personality features, for example, a noncompulsive superego and a low aspiration level, serve to minimize the affects produced. So long as a reasonable long term balance is maintained between defense systems and anxiety, personality adjustment may be considered relatively adequate, although in any specific situation the upsetting effects of flexible defenses may be readily demonstrated.

Dependence

In its present usage the term dependence refers to a passive receptive longing for care and affection. The motivation, however, does not lead to submissive behavior but rather causes people to invest with value those persons, goods, and behaviors that represent unconscious equivalents of love and protection. The distinctive note in dependency manifestations is the desire to receive gains without active self-assertion. Grouping dependence with flexibility, we may speak of these as the relatively passive motivations of Kaska personality.

We will first discuss the potential conflict between dependence and the self-assertive motives, then the expression of dependence in social life, and, finally, the patterning of the motivation in men and women.

Conflicts with dependence. Obviously, as a basic orientation of Kaska personality, dependence is at variance with several other basic motivations, particularly egocentricity and utilitarianism, whose joint goal of self-sufficiency it threatens. In its tendency to break through affective barriers, dependence is also in conflict with emotional isolation, but discussion of this point must be postponed until the following section. The Kaska Indian, when he abandons active forms of mastery for passive receptive demands, comes perilously close to subordinating his life to others. For the readily accepted egocentric attitude: "I

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must live by myself," dependence substitutes an unconscious plea for help in living. It is interesting to note, however, that the potential and seemingly inevitable subordination never fully occurs; egocentricity is never wholly abandoned. The divergent goals exist side by side in fundamental incompatibility but with no evidence of incapacitating disharmony. The reason for this apparent un-neurotic adjustment of the individual lies in several distinguishing features of Kaska dependence. In the first place, the motivation does not involve the surrender of personal initiative to others, except perhaps in old age and illness, when the physical incapacity of the organism necessarily dooms the ego's assertive coping techniques. Parents sometimes express ideal dependence on children, but here a speaker is looking to protection in old age and realistically is not surrendering his autonomy. A second reason why the conflict between dependence and egocentricity is not more severe lies in the fact that under the motivating influence of emotional isolation, the unconsciously directed search for care and protection cannot assume an unequivocal form but must take symbolic guise. Finally, expressions of dependence are not of a kind to humiliate or abase the individual. One can, for example, in Kaska society symbolically demand love and protection in a relatively self-assertive fashion and without betraying too far the behavior's fundamental passivity.

As in the case of flexibility, dependence does not function solely when the person is faced with adaptive and adjustive crises, but rather represents a seeking for safety whose press is experienced throughout life. That is to say, unconsciously, passive receptive attitudes are constantly alert in Kaska personality but are repressed under the influence of self-assertive tendencies. It is this readiness for dependence, in association with moderate ego tonicity, which quickly sets off reactions of acute passivity when strivings toward self-sufficiency become blocked.

Expression. One of the outstanding forms of dependency motivated behavior may be identified as "demandingness," which sometimes takes the form of the individual leeching himself onto people in a position to give. The most direct manifestation of demands is directed toward the government whose regulative functions, it will be recalled, are strongly repudiated. In the cultural background, we have already given a number of examples to illustrate this point. Perhaps the strongest examples of demandingness come from Nitla who, having been raised in the relative isolation of Frances Lake, has had less opportunity to come into contact with regulative governmental functions and so can freely express his conception of authority as a provider. In him the typical expression of dependence stresses the "hard time" of the Indians and the consequent responsibility of governments to take care of these subjects. The associations to one dream reveal an interesting interweaving of conflicting egocentric and dependency motives.

8:1:49 (Lower Post). "I dream that it's winter time; fall time. That much snow [indicates], I dream.. Must be I work in winter time. A lucky dream. I get fly tent, trap." When asked if he wished it were fall time, Nitla agreed and explained: "Man trapping, sometimes lucky dream that way. Man dream that way, he can't die. . . . He feel good. . . . Never know feel bum; feel good." Spontaneously he went on to complain about the noise in Lower Post and how it made a man feel "bum." In Frances Lake Post, on the other hand, things are much quieter; Indians stay in their camps at night and don't constantly walk around. This led to complaints about being "stuck" in Lower Post. The only way for him to rejoin his wife was to get a ride on a

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truck going straight through to the Bridge, but he was afraid of taking the wrong truck and so being carried to Watson Lake. "Storeman too, he never give anything. No sugar, nothing. No beans, no raisins, matches, .22 shells . . . anything. Man he need it. Can't make it. By goodness . . . Taku [Trading Co.] no good. No give people. . . . Man he got money, he can't get stuck. Man he got the kids, no good. . . . What he gonna eat, my kids? Storeman gotta treat everything, all right. Just the same your daddy. Got to give something to eat. . . . Man he kill enough skin, he got a good friend. Man no skin, he got no friend."

Asked for associations to "fly tent" the subject said: "You don't want the snow. You dream about fly tent. . . . You don't want hard time. I got a fly tent up there . . . close to Simpson Lake." Spontaneously Nitla went on to talk about food again. "Just straight flour no good. . . . Make a man feel bum." He emphasized the importance of butter and began to praise a series of white foods, including potatoes, beans, and cheese. Then he appraised chewing tobacco as good. "No tobacco, by goodness, I feel bum."

When his interest began to decline, Nitla was aroused from silence by being asked to talk about his childhood. Following a series of remarks pertaining to food eaten as a child, he went on to describe in detail three accidents he had met with in his youth. When this topic was exhausted, Nitla paused. "What else gonna show you?" No suggestions were offered. He went on to describe the hard life of most Frances Lake Indians. Only a few men are lucky in trapping. He discussed the importance of beaver fur in the Indian economy and then finished the hour by roundly criticizing the government for closing the trapping of beaver. Beaver, he explained, was valuable both for its skin as well as meat; why not close marten, the meat of which nobody eats?

Previous to the interview, Nitla had eaten supper with the ethnographer's family. The chain of thinking oscillates between defining the ability of a man to be self-sufficient and the urge to be taken care of. From the associations, it is apparent that these two elements also exist in the dream. The first part of the dream, trapping in fall time, represents the assertive aspect of the personality individualistically striving for survival and comfort. The task, however, is too difficult for the ego, leading to expressions of dependence, like wishing that white men were more generous. Unfortunately, the traders who should be parental protectors, give only after a man has produced fur with which to pay for what he wants. The second element of the dream, the fly tent, introduces the motion of being cared for an protected. "You don't want snow. You dream about fly tent. . . . You don't want hard time." Parenthetically we may note the inadequacy of the symbol chosen to represent protection; a fly tent is a summer dwelling, and only the poorest trapper would use it in cold weather. Associations lead from the tent to the whiteman's food; if this food were abundant, the subject seems to say, the Indian would not have to work so hard for a living. Prodded to speak of childhood, Nitla perseverates on the theme of food (dependence) and switches to accidents, again pointing out his helplessness. Once more he leads himself out of this dependency stratum and speaks of the exigencies of trapping, but his egocentric motivation hesitates and again passive receptive attitudes appear, leading to criticism of the frustrating government.

It is significant that the Kaska Indian's dependence is largely expressed in terms of receiving food from white men or being well supplied with grub. One explanation for the emotional value of food may be found in the light of dependence. Food represents the pro-

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tected state of childhood, that existed before parents instituted emotional rejection and is symbolic of the love and care which were lavished on the helpless baby in the early satisfaction of his alimentary needs.[8] We have stated love to be the ultimate goal of dependence. In Nitla we see this expectation directed toward white men—the government, traders, and, indirectly, the ethnographer who had just fed him. Of Nitla's leeching tendency there can be no question. Like several other youths, he always showed up at our house around meal time and never refused to eat. We may conclude that receiving food from white people, or receiving food in general, is unconsciously equivalent to receiving love and security. Psychoanalysts have long maintained that passivity and orality are related; this relationship is well demonstrated in Kaska personality, where passive receptive attitudes represent a means to acquire security and protection without exercise of self-assertion. A similar note is struck in Louis Mam's dream, related when the ethnographer visited his home in September. He dreamed that a white man told him of a creek where gold could be found. The stranger reminded Louis that the latter had often crossed this creek. "There's gold there," the white man said. "You have a pan, use it. Go there." In associating, Louis tried to figure out to which creek the reference applied. Again in this product of unconscious thinking, a white man is pictured as a benefactor. Louis is a relatively insecure person preoccupied with the idea of getting out of debt. In the dream his goals are passively solved, although there is the realistic note that Louis must still find the gold. Indians are not concerned with prospecting for precious metal, so that the occurrence of gold in Louis' dream may have a special but unknown significance for his personality.

During the construction of the Alaska Highway, dependence was inadvertently satisfied by the generosity of American soldiers and civilians who gave the people gifts of cigarettes, food (especially meat), and liquor.[9] The favorable stereotype constructed of Americans may therefore be explained in terms of the significance of their generosity to the Indians. Unfortunately the Canadian soldiers, who subsequently appeared in the area and served for lower pay, have not met the expectations of generosity to which the Kaska had become accustomed. The Indians were already familiar with the traders' lack of generosity, which is founded on a sense of good business. The unfavorable stereotype developed of Canadian soldiers, therefore, represents partly a generalization of experience from Canadian traders to Canadians and is also the product of frustrated expectations.

Closely related to food as a symbol of love is the high value placed on generosity. The language of generosity may be interpreted as: "You are a good person because you give." A demand to receive, founded on passive receptive aims, is implicit in this unconscious definition. It might appear that the demanding dependence of the Kaska, especially as it is expressed toward food, should make a stingy people. Actually we find the Kaska no more stingy than they are spontaneously generous.[6] However, the sharing of grub (not meat)

[8] Ibid. Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis* (1945), 63.

[9] During the Second World War, peoples in many parts of the globe had occasion to benefit from the well paid American soldier's generosity and probably often responded to it with much the same manifest pleasure as the Kaska. It remains to be learned if the unconscious significance of gifts was the same in all of these cases.

[6] For examples of compulsive generosity see the discussion of Harry's personality below, pp. 336-337.

We may point out here that while Kaska society lacks any ritualistic forms of bestowing authority, aboriginally the leaders of a band held people together by their roles as food providers. The early traders recognized some-

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157 X 181 is done with extreme reluctance and then usually with the interests of deference closely in view. The criticism of any lack of generosity, however, is a dependency motivated behavior, based on the frustration of this dominant motivation. Excessive generosity, when it appears in a very few Kaska, is probably a reaction formation based on demanding. Just as reception equals the incorporation of love, so giving represents a means of earning love. In psychoanalytical parlance, the desire to incorporate is replaced by the desire to be passively incorporated. The emotion invested in the potlatch is also partly derived from the fact that the central feature of this festival is the giving away of symbolically precious food. Potlatching for the hosts is a public demonstration of the cultural ideal of generosity and in turn gratifies the guests' unconscious passive receptive needs.

157 X 181 593 Emotional dependence is one of the outstanding features of the marriage relationship. This is revealed in the fact that many men are reluctant to separate themselves from their wives, in the poignancy of a widower's loneliness, and in the jealousy manifested by both spouses. Our evidence suggests this dependence to intensify with time. Among old people, where we find the closest bonds between spouses, strong dependence is expressed in attitudes of mutual care, protection, and worry. Mrs. Man was reluctant to allow her husband to leave camp alone for any length of time. Old Man showed himself as much preoccupied with his wife's health and symptoms as with his own. Marriage, therefore, represents a pattern of indulging passivity and must also be estimated for its role in undermining goals of individualism and self-sufficiency.

Another instance of intrafamilial dependence is found in the attitudes of parents stressing their future economic dependence on children, and only secondarily admitting the latter's reliance on parents. Such unconsciously motivated attitudes not only do a great deal to sustain the emotionally isolating tendencies of the society, but in turn set up dependency motivated behavior in childhood, like food leeching and the theft of small objects—"symbolic thefts of love."[42] We will return to these aspects of children's behavior in describing the development of Kaska ethos.

157 X 181 273 A study of the cultural background will reveal other situations whose emotional qualities suggest the operation of dependence. Several of these may be briefly pointed out, although the most we can do is to point to future problems for research. Thus one is tempted to raise the question of a relationship between drinking and passive receptive oral trends. The fact that alcohol promotes passive reactions in these people cannot be doubted. Old Man often related how drinking quickly helped him forget his illness and debility. Alcohol, furnishing a relaxation of overtaxing self-assertion represents a means of withdrawing from the press of life. In his discussion of basic personality in western society, Kardiner pointed

157 X 181 533 out that the nostalgic themes of contemporary music represents the idealization of the protective mother.[43] A similar function may be suggested for the music which is most popular

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thing of the dynamics of this role and in appointing "chiefs" to direct fur production provided the nominees with flour and tobacco for free distribution. At present the government neglects such traditional and psychologically grounded means of defining the chief's status.

[42] Levy, *Psychopathic Personality and Crime* (1942), 100.

[43] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 369.

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among the Kaska and which expresses yearning for a loved and familiar place. The characteristic minor key of Kaska playing may also be pertinent in this connection. We are on more certain ground in once more estimating the roles of charms, magic, and luck in relation to dependence. Harry Lang's journal is liberally spotted with phrases like "lucky today," "poor luck today," and "no luck today." Conversation often tends to account for failure in terms of luck. Although predictive beliefs promising success (few are used to forecast failure) reveal a certain degree of ego tonicity, both as expressions of optimism and pessimism, reliance on charms and divination or ascription to luck denote an individual's relatively passive adjustment to forces on which he feels himself contingent.

While religious attitudes do not sharply stress a person's subordination, in a general way they encourage the feeling of being cared for in a system that pictures human life as primarily passive. Man, like the animal and plant environment, is a part of nature, the operation of whose laws make it possible for him to hunt and trap successfully. Jesus is a protector who takes care of his "boys." The animal realm has a similar role. Heaven is a state of future good to which the individual automatically feels destined. Such optimism, or faith, is both related to egocentric and dependency motivations.

Expressions in the Rorschach test situation. Criteria for interpreting dependence in the Rorschach situation have not been well worked out in the literature. Bochner and Halpern,[44] like Maslow,[45] suggest that responses involving the mouth, food, eating, and drinking may be regarded as signs of orality and therefore potential expressions of dependence. Such responses are not conspicuous in Kaska protocols.

Dependence in men and women. Although there is no evidence for doubting that primary dependence (that is, dependence inculcated in the early years of life) is characteristic of both men and women, characterological differences between the sexes are nevertheless shown in the expression of this motivation. These may be summarized as follows:

Men	Dependency goals are socially discouraged in favor of egocentric and utilitarian considerations. The ego, however, lacks the required tonicity for consistent assertive behavior, thus facilitating dependency reactions.
Women	Dependency goals are socially permitted and even encouraged, but the absence of sufficiently low ego development does not always leave women content with a passive role. Hence they often express socially patterned egocentric and utilitarian motivations which overshadow dependency trends.

Expressed in other terms, women, because of their social roles, and especially after marriage, are permitted to rest back more and expected to manifest more passivity. Men, conversely, are expected to display initiative. In men ego strength is not high enough to support the socially patterned male role; in women, despite early training for a serving role it is too high to make them content with their status and so we sometimes find them heading families, trapping, hunting big game, and otherwise fulfilling roles allocated to men.

Actually this works out to provide a rather neat balance in intersexual relations, but also produces many conflicts which we shall take up in the following section. In marriage

[44] Bochner and Halpern, *The Clinical Application of the Rorschach Test* (1945), 63.
[45] Maslow, *Rorschach Theory* (1944), 52–54.

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157 181 men are more in need of a women's emotional support than vice versa and women are socially encouraged to fulfill these expectations. Evidence also suggests that men seek what few secondary advantages accrue from illness, but that women are less required to resort to such techniques since their responsibilities are fewer.[46] Widowers, for the same reasons, are also far more emotionally upset upon the death of a spouse than widows, who often delay remarriage. In general, women's socially patterned roles permit them the satisfaction of dependency aims without strong conflict and partly for this reason they are less required to utilize passive receptive techniques like demanding, leeching, and hypochondriasis. They are also spared from the full burden of responsibilities which, in conjunction with a moderate ego development, often moves men to relax into passive forms of adaptation and adjustment.

157 181 562 It has been pointed out that in a social setting enforcing unmitigated feminine dependence, passivity, and submission, we would find evidence of feminine masochism. Following this suggestion of Horney,[47] we watched for such expressions in Kaska women's behavior. We could collect no evidence of dysmenorrhea (here, however, observation was limited and not subject to careful checking), excessive concern with pregnancy and childbirth, or fears of exploitation determining women's fear of sexual relations. All these points listed by Horney are criteria of feminine masochism. While social expectations demand that to some degree Kaska women inhibit their interaction with men, women are not led to look for advantages as a result of regarding themselves as weak or helpless, nor are they predominantly self-sacrificing. Although the woman is economically dependent on the man, her husband is not the sole source of such satisfaction and economic dependence is not serviceable as a channel for woman's emotional dependence on the opposite sex. The absence of feminine masochism is further corroborated by the absence of other social conditions which Horney regards as predisposing to such attitudes. For example, manifestly, women are not discriminately blocked in finding outlets for sexuality before marriage; no cultural value is based on fertility, nor are limits placed on the number of children she can bear. The woman is not restricted to spheres of life built on an emotional basis, rather her ability determines the extent of her cultural participation. There is no surplus of marriageable women to favor their emotional dependence on men (if anything, the reverse is true). However, the male attitude regarding women as an inferior sex represents one condition listed as compatible with female masochistic feelings. Women's unconscious fear of aggression in coitus (to be discussed in the next section), may represent another such condition. On the whole the evidence does not suggest feminine masochism and supports our conclusion that Kaska women are not content to be swallowed in their socially patterned, passive role.

157 181 *Résumé.* The passive receptive goals of dependence have been outlined, together with an account of the conflict between this motivation and the motivations of egocentricity and

[46] Kluckhohn has essayed to collect evidence pointing out that in many parts of the world either men or women "are somewhat neglected or occupy low status" and seek means of securing attention through bewitchment, trance states, and neurotic seizures (Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft* [1944], 49). In Kaska society men, while not most neglected, feel their greater social burdens severely and this is one reason why they often seek attention through hypochondriasis.

[47] Horney, *The Problem of Feminine Masochism* (1935).

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utilitarianism. Despite the self-assertive aims of these latter motives, ego tonicity in the Kaska male is not sufficient to permit his personality to resist dependency strivings. Because of the lighter responsibilities of her socially patterned role and the fact that feminine dependence is encouraged, the woman faces less conflict in following her dependency trends. Actually, however, the woman's ego is high enough to make uncongenial a solely passive role.

Emotional Isolation

Preservation of emotional aloofness and social detachment represent the outstanding features of emotional isolation. The motive is founded upon low development of an ability to tolerate affection or to express any considerable warmth in interpersonal relations. The emotionally isolated individual seeks to stay impervious to intense affective stimuli, whether originating within or outside of the organism; emotional ties are underemphasized, strong feelings repressed, and spontaneous affective expression constricted. Emotional isolation, as used here, includes Levy's concept of "affect hunger."[48]

In describing the emotionally isolating motivation of Kaska personality, attention will be directed to its interrelationship with other motives previously described, expression in general behavior, role in determining intersexual relations and sexual constriction, and manifestation in the Rorschach situation. Finally, the occasional relaxation of emotional aloofness will be discussed.

Interrelations of emotional isolation. If the goal of emotional isolation is succinctly phrased as withdrawal from all emotional stimuli, it becomes clear that this dominant motivation is closely related to other basic trends of Kaska personality. This relationship is most obvious with respect to the goal of egocentricity, whose aims have been defined as individualism, independence, and personal responsibility. The Kaska Indian seeks to stand alone, for the most part rejecting cooperative relationships and avoiding intense identifications with any social group beyond the family. Approached from the standpoint of emotional isolation, the atomistic quality of Kaska social structure may now be related to blocked affectivity. The egocentric individual is not only intent upon preserving his independence but also avoids the formation of strong affective ties with neighbors. In the language of psychoanalysis, there is a low development of aim-inhibited libido, or love, which may be directed toward a leader or other members of a group to form a cohesive society.[49] The society consists of a group of people who seek to stand alone and experience the extension of affective ties as anxiety provoking. In contrast, a corporate society is structured where affectional bonds are diffuse and abundant, so that people trust others and are mutually concerned with each other's welfare. Among the Kaska, strong interpersonal ties are little extended beyond the nuclear family, and even the members of this group are characterized by strong emphasis on self-sufficiency and little expression of emotionality. It does not follow that Kaska atomism is founded upon antagonism, since this affect is not only also too intense but also threatens the basic value of deference; the Kaska individual,

[48] Levy, *Primary Affect Hunger* (1937).

[49] Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1922). Kardiner suggests that in Alor blocked affectivity is also related to the atomization of Alorese social structure. Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 170. See also Benedict and Mead, *Balinese Character* (1942), 4, 33, 47, 68.

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as we have mentioned, cannot tolerate hostility without experiencing threat of the loss of love. The relationship of emotional isolation to deference in Kaska life is well expressed by Horney's statement that the detached personality is interested in excluding all feeling, "both love and hate. It is the logical consequence of the need to keep at an emotional distance from others, in that strong love or hate, consciously expressed, would bring one either close to others or into conflict with them."[30] It would not be correct to assume that deference in Kaska personality is no more than an attempt to exclude hostile emotions from consciousness. While these two, like all the dominant motivations, are intimately related, many conscious attitudes and behaviors, consistently and strongly expressing antipathy to aggression, warrant consideration of deference as a relative independent motivation.

Expression of emotional isolation. Like Horney's detached personality type, the Kaska Indian is governed by "a general tendency to suppress all feeling."[31] Emotional reactions to crises are the first manifestation of emotional detachment which will be discussed. Typically we find such reactions minimizing and underestimating the significance of critical experiences. Sometimes unconscious defense formations, like denial, are instituted to further ameliorate threats to emotional isolation. As we have seen in connection with humor, a number of older men are particularly prone to use a feeble wisecrack in an effort to evade a strong emotional impact and so restore a sense of mastery in the face of upsetting stimuli. Old Man's joking about Nitla's marital predicament reveals an attempt to alleviate the latter's unpleasant involvement in a tense emotional situation. Similar expressions of emotional minimization occur in the case of death. Weeping and mourning are inevitable when death occurs, but a determined effort is made by the bereaved's more distant relatives and friends to reduce the emotional impact of the situation through comforting words or even humor, and to remove as quickly as possible all evidence of the event which would tend to keep mourning alive and remind others of their losses. Severe hunger crises are also denied by having their emotional significance underplayed, joked about, or replaced by an uncertain optimism expressed as: "We won't starve yet."

Further manifestation of emotional isolation is found in the minimization of affective bonds by stressing economic utility or material comfort. A widower expresses his loneliness and desire for remarriage in terms of requiring someone to cook for him, make moccasins, and satisfy his sexual needs. Adele Kean's preference for her husband's brother was not defended as love but in terms of utility; John, she said, took better care of her than Nitla and was a better provider. Similarly, John never conceded that he was romantically attached to Adele. A man's prolonged absence from camp is not directly discussed with worry or fear for his safety; rather, when Peter Tom remained downriver for several weeks, Old Man expressed the desire to have back the gun which Peter had borrowed and Louis Maza fretted about the dog that Peter was using. The ability of individuals to withdraw from excessive concern and pity for illness and old age is another consequence of emotional isolation operating in an egocentric personality, while the burlesqued and exaggerated farewells of sisters probably also express a tendency to minimize the affect of parting experienced between these close relatives. These are instances in which emotional concern for individuals

[30] Horney, *Our Inner Conflicts* (1945), 82–83.
[31] Horney, *Our Inner Conflicts* (1945), 82.

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is suppressed. Emotional minimization is designed to preserve maximum psychic economy by warding off exciting stimuli with which the personality is afraid to deal.

As may be expected, inhibition of affectional expression also influences the marital relationship. Despite the tenderness shown between some newly married couples, the evidence of divorce, quarrels, and other interpersonal behavior between spouses strongly suggests that it takes considerable time for affect barriers to break down in marriage, thereby permitting partners to grow close. Horney's observations are applicable here. "In view of all we have said about the detached persons's human relationships," Horney writes, "it will be clear that any close and lasting relation would be bound to jeopardize his detachment and hence would be likely to be disastrous—unless the partner should be equally detached and so of his own accord respect the need for distance. . . . Provided emotional distance is sufficiently guaranteed he may be able to preserve a considerable measure of enduring loyalty."[32] Preservation of emotional distance, however, would appear to be quite difficult where dependency trends are also operative.

We may cite other expressions of emotional detachment in social situations. The disparate individuals constituting a visiting or idling group are constructed by proximity of members but not by intense social interaction through conversation. In this same connection it is appropriate to discuss the patterning of physical contact in the culture. Despite the high development of tactual interpersonal relations, in contrast to verbal relationships, considerable ambivalence seems to attach to such contacts. Intrinsically they are pleasant, supplying a channel through which warm human relations are possible without too great danger. When strong attention is focused on tactual relations, however, embarrassment and confusion are provoked. This is illustrated by young people's reluctance to dance before self-consciousness can be obliterated in a group, in the avoidance of an unmarried boy and girl appearing together in public, and in the tendency for the sexes to initiate sexual teasing by slapping at one another from a distance with willow branches. It is also demonstrated by the segregation of men and women in idling groups or at opposite walls of a dance house. At a dance it is only after some time has passed before inhibitions are sufficiently reduced to permit the sexes to mingle freely outside of a dance place.

It is characteristic of the Kaska Indian to restrain as much as possible his participation in the social and physical environments; he is afraid of revealing himself emotionally, of dropping defenses which guarantee egocentric independence and aloneness. The avoidance of conversational self-expression is one example of restricted participation in the social environment. Folktales are narrated with little emotional expression other than quiet relish or enjoyment. Certainly we noted none of the gusto ascribed to Menomini story tellers, or the "richness of gesture and vocal inflection" with which they identify with folktale characters.[33] In physical movement the same constrictive withholding is practiced. Although physical activity is not marked by tension, but rather is relaxed and free-flowing, people display few gestures and no "grand" expressive movements. Social dancing is done mincingly, or at least in a circumscribed spatial context. In the brief example of an aboriginal dance witnessed at a potlatch, the participants moved only the upper portion of the body,

[32] Horney, *Our Inner Conflicts* (1945), 85.

[33] Skinner and Satterlee, *Folklore of the Menomini Indians* (1915), 235.

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raised and lowered the feet, while keeping the bent arms close to the torso. Such constriction of movement seems partly motivated by the need to preserve emotional isolation.[84]

Coughing may also be understood as a means of withdrawing from a social situation whose pressure is found discomfitingly intense or embarrassing. As a reaction to this pressure a person becomes more concerned with himself and perceives, as Fenichel points out, a functional dryness of the throat.[85] Coughing serves to release the tension induced by the social situation and may afford an opportunity for the inhibition of speech—for example, a person need not answer an embarrassing question.

Together with the tendency to remain aloof from disturbing situations which threaten the resources of the personality, a related objective of the detached person is to bridge the gap separating him from others. We have already discussed attitudes toward warm human relations in connection with deference and dependence. For the former motive it was pointed out that by avoiding hostility the Kaska do not so much seek love as they avoid the loss of love, while dependency produces ambivalent feelings in a person who fears that the care and protection he desires undermine his self-sufficiency. To these difficulties, that stand in the way of the egocentric personality's search for love, we must now add the anxiety which warm human relations invite because of their conflict with emotional isolation. Withdrawal of love in childhood not only sets up a barrier against any close interpersonal relationships but also instigates unconscious "affect hunger," or a search for the unacceptable satiation of affection.[86] Passive receptive (oral) trends, expectation of secondary gains from illness, and a reputation for generosity are some previously mentioned means by which the Kaska seek to satisfy affectional insatiety. One oral trend of pronounced emotional significance, alcoholic drinking, deserves further consideration. If the Kaska child's emotional rejection sets up affect hunger, we can understand the role ascribed to alcoholic intoxication as dulling "the pain of loneliness and [putting] the alcoholic in a state where he can fantasy love, at least."[87] The idea of reincarnation may also serve to fulfill unconsciously the unstilled longing to overcome personal isolation. Such a belief, it has been pointed out, may be a symbolic means of fulfilling persistent longings to bridge the gap between mother and child and to deny the even more final interpersonal isolation that follows death.[88] Ambivalent attempts to assuage affect hunger through sexual relations will be discussed below in connection with sexual constriction. Before we can adequately comprehend the phenomena of sexual constriction in the light of emotional detachment, we must review what has already been said about the relations of men and women, adding emotional isolation to the other motives entering into these relationships.

Relations between men and women. We have pointed out that Kaska men are expected to be self-assertive to a degree where they will be able self-confidently and resourcefully to provide food and fur and perform other services required by the family. The society, how-

[84] Bateson has pointed out that physical processes of artistic creation are ethologically related to the broader cultural context. His remarks stress an aspect of culture that has hitherto been largely neglected. Bateson, G., Oceanic and Balinese Art. Lecture delivered at the Yale Art Gallery, Spring, 1946.

[85] Fenichel, *The Psychopathology of Coughing* (1943).

[86] Levy, *Primary Affect Hunger* (1937). See also Fromm, *Escape From Freedom* (1941), 29-30.

[87] English and Pearson, *Emotional Problems of Living* (1945), 25.

[88] Deutsch, *Psychology of Women. II. Motherhood* (1945), 277. See also Ford, *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction* (1945), 35.

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ever, also patterns a degree of ego tonicity and conflicting passive motivations in men that make their roles difficult to fulfill. As a result, men often relapse into passivity and dependence which introduces them to increased anxiety. Kaska women, on the other hand, although endowed with self-assertion and independence, are nevertheless expected to serve men and to rely on the male for the principal economic necessities. Inasmuch as their development does not entirely prepare women for an exclusively passive role, their ego tonicity is greater than their status demands. It is strong enough, for example, to permit some women to execute the responsibilities normally expected from men. Ideas of the woman's social role restrict men from comfortably performing many female allocated functions but, as might be expected, women exhibit no difficulties in performing male allocated tasks; in fact they may derive satisfaction from the opportunity to thus identify with men.

If we now approach male and female social roles from the standpoint of emotional isolation we find that in men considerable ambivalence is attached to the emotional comforts derived from association with women. As marriage endures, there is increasing dependence of a man on his wife. These passive trends are productive of male anxiety, first, because they are contrary to the self-assertive motives and, second, because of their conflict with emotional isolation. Turning now to women, we can expect that since women are also trained for assertive forms of mastery, passive mechanisms of adjustment may also be productive of anxiety; this is borne out in the fact that some women seek to avoid this socially expected pattern of adjustment by manifesting masculine striving. On the other hand, the fact that there are social expectations of feminine passivity, and that from the age of six or seven girls are trained for a serving role, make it easier for a woman to relax; her conflict here is exclusively "personal" whereas in the man it is both a personal conflict between motives and a struggle between individual and social demands. However, the Kaska woman to some extent shares with her husband the predisposition to anxiety once emotional isolation is exposed to the threatening emotional intensities of marriage.

The following summary may help to clarify the essence of the foregoing discussion.

Sex	Training	Conflicts
Man	Emphasizes unmitigated self-assertion.	Between socially expected self-assertion and passivity.
		Between self-assertion and dependence on the wife.
		Between emotional isolation and dependence on the wife.
Woman	Self-assertion relieved by some preparation for a serving (passive) role.	Between socially expected passivitiy and self-assertion.
		Between self-assertion and dependence on the husband.
		Between emotional isolation and dependence on the husband.

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All of these conflicts lead to anxiety and derived hostility, which further threaten the self-assertive as well as deferent motivations. These conflicts find expression in the ambivalence characterizing the emotional relations of men and women in Kaska society. Illustrations of this ambivalence will now be studied as it manifests itself in male feelings of superiority, men's and women's attitudes toward marriage, in folklore, and in men's unconscious use of sex for aggression. Because of closer work with men, it is inevitable that the illustrations should primarily reflect male ambivalence to women; on the other hand, it is also possible that a woman's frustrations, because of her greater opportunity to relax from self-assertion, her early training in passivity, and her cross-sexed identification with her father in childhood, are less strong than a man's.

Male feelings of superiority to women are expressed when men generalize from their important economic roles on the one hand to a notion of generally superior status. They are also revealed in Old Man's defensive claim that men can, if necessary, do many feminine tasks, like caring for children, making babiche, lacing snowshoes, and cutting moccasins. On another occasion, however, Old Man reported that such tasks were only regretfully performed by men and their necessity considered a hardship. River Joe, too, often complained about a man's difficulties when he lacked a woman to cook and care for the camp. We therefore conclude that Old Man's statement of male self-sufficiency has little basis in manifest behavior and is an expression of male superiority. It represents an attempt to deny the anxiety provoked by dependence on his wife.

Both sexes reveal conscious reluctance to marriage. In men, holding back is defended on grounds of sexual freedom, while in women it is rationalized as a fear of being economically frustrated or physically overworked. Avoidance of marriage may be interpreted both as a fear of the strong emotions that the bond develops and of the dependency which it invites. The period of premarital promiscuity, as we shall see, affords abundant opportunity to satisfy sexuality without too seriously threatening emotional isolation. Furthermore, sex in this period offers full opportunity to express self-assertion, while marriage, with its burdens of economic responsibilities and child care, threatens to tax that motivation in both sexes.

The expression of sexual ambivalence in folklore is illustrated in the story of "The Blind Old Man," selected by Old Man to unburden the anxiety and hostility engendered by his growing dependency.[29] The theme of the tale, an old man deceived by his wife who withholds food, strongly suggests the husband-wife relationship to be marked by distrust and ambivalence. That the woman is able to deceive her husband, shows her to be perceived in a position of superiority and power, which throws light on the man's intense and conflictful emotional dependence. A second tale reveals a similar theme.

THE GIRL WHO TURNED INTO AN OWL

Two brothers shared a wife and lived with their mother-in-law. One day the girl climbed a tree to reach an owl's nest and was turned into an owl. Her clothes drifted down to her mother, who donned them and returned to camp pretending to be the young wife. She placed a roll of blankets in her camp to simulate an old woman asleep. When the boys came home the woman fed them, but as she had no teeth she could only eat tripe. To give the sound of chewing, she put a

[29] See the discussion of Old Man's personality below, pp. 327-328.

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piece of charcoal into her mouth. Occasionally the mother-in-law threw a piece of meat to the "old woman." The brothers became suspicious of the old woman's actions and made her tell what had happened. Then they went to the owl's nest and pleaded for their wife to return. But the owl swooped down at them saying: "I'm going to eat you." The brothers became angry and one of them shot the owl with a bow and arrow. The owl failed to die and, referring to the point in its leg, said: "That's going to be my sinew."

This story was told by Old Man after he had been talking to Nitla about the latter's loss of Adele to John. He teased Nitla with living as people did in "old fashioned" days and was reminded of this story. The tale again stresses the deceitfulness of women. Although men are dependent on women, they always suffer a residual fear lest they be deceived or overwhelmed (eaten). In a burst of hostility, men fantasy using their strength to kill the ambivalent object. But male self-assertion, symbolized by the arrow, simply strengthens the woman. The closing incident of the tale might also be interpreted with reference to the self-assertion which men unconsciously invest in coitus. The penis, instead of conquering the female has its strength incorporated by the unassailable sexual object. In other words, men fear failure in their sexual relationships.

Female homosexuality and masculine striving are two elements in another folktale.

A TRIBE OF WOMEN

Two brothers, caught on an ice floe, drifted downriver until they reached Fort Liard. One of the boys was young and not smart; the other was already a little smart. They reached land and found a camp in which there were only women. The women fed the brothers. As the youths ate they saw another group of women return to camp with caribou meat. The leading woman in the camp explained that in this country all male children were killed at birth because they didn't want men. Men, they said, hurt women. Here women "bothered" each other and in that way conceived children who were painfully born through Caesarian section. The older boy told the women how children were born in the country upriver. Then the younger brother saw the "stick gun," which the women used in hunting. To fire the weapon, the hunter hit the back of an arrow with a stick. The younger brother did not believe that such a weapon was practical, and invited the women to shoot him. The women refused but the boy walked off a distance and insisted that they try. So the women killed the younger brother with the stick gun. The older boy then showed the tribe how to bury the dead in a grave instead of under a pile of brush. Later the older brother returned to his own people.[40]

[40] In Arapesh a similar myth occurs "in which a wandering male finds a group of independent women who have flying foxes (flying foxes are the symbol of aggressive, actively sexed, nin-maternal women) as lovers to scratch their vulvas and who bear them only female children. The man marries them. They are pictured as ignorant of the proper order of childbirth (for a male child) so that the first pregnant woman is cut open and dies; after which the man teaches them how to bear children properly. He then grabs all the flying foxes in their tamberan house and burns them up; only one small flying fox escapes and enlists all the birds to avenge the death of the flying foxes. The birds attack the man, cut off his penis and drop it among the women, who bury it sorrowfully. Meanwhile, he has begotten enough sons to continue the race normally." (Mead, *The Mountain Arapesh II Supernaturalism* [1942], 345-346; see also 378-380.) Not only is the remarkable similarity of these tales, originating in two distant societies noteworthy, but more striking is the fact that both Arapesh and Kaska society pattern ambivalent attitudes to sex which this tale serves to express. In Arapesh the story "expresses the men's fear of the woman's independent sexuality which threatens death." In Kaska the tale, among other things, reveals the danger which emotionally isolated men perceive in too intense sexual interaction.

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This tale (told by Old Man) expresses the mystery which women present to men, the masculine striving of women, and man's fear of women's sexual functions. The man's unconscious sexual passivity, suggested by the homosexual element, is indicated in the women's weapon which kills the younger brother.[81] In the younger brother we see passivity so strong that it leads to a masochistic sequence in which the man allows himself to be killed and, through interment, becomes incorporated by women. Thus the theme of the myth is once more expressive of male-female ambivalence.

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Other unconscious ideas inferred from behavior and verbalization further expresses the pattern of intersexual hostility. The society, as already pointed out, recognizes the relationship between sexuality and hunting. Coitus and the self-assertive motives are unconsciously related, sexual intercourse being equivalent to the successful killing of game. Such an idea also carries the expression of ambivalent attitudes between men and women. Unconsciously sexual relations are interpreted as conflicts in which men are superior, but folktales reveal that men are as uncertain of their sexual powers as they often are about their economic capacities.

From these data we infer that the man's egocentric and utilitarian motivations strive for unconscious gratification through ideas of masculine superiority over women. The failure of these motives is unconsciously interpreted as making a man like a woman. That this idea should be further expressed in symbols equating the gun and penis is not surprising. The male sex organ and potency in general are perceived as weapons of mastery; this is indicated by the boasts of boys claiming to have "worn out" girls, and is also reflected in the young man's concern with his potency and the size of the penis. Schilder has pointed out that "the male sex organ is a protrusion and can therefore be symbolized by protrusions of another type. Every protrusion may then become a symbol or a sign for activity as well as for masculinity."[82] Any appearance of the gun, arrow, or stick gun in products of unconscious mentation therefore becomes significant. The importance of target practice with rifles is also partly determined from these ideas, and arises from the fact that it ensures self-assertive mastery not only actually (by improving skill) but unconsciously by relieving genital anxieties. Not only are weapons objects of protrusion, but by the Indian's own admission they are also symbols of male superiority and self-assertion, and equivalent to the penis as a weapon of conquest. These symbols emphasize the hostility which men unconsciously experience toward women and also illuminate what the woman hopes to achieve by masculine striving. By denying her capacity to have children and follow masculine allocated tasks, she is embracing assertion through male identification and denying the passivity associated with her body openings.[83] Note that women are not less eager to target practice than boys, only doing so in greater secrecy.

[81] Harry Lang, while intoxicated, once revealed his passivity by fantasying a woman with a revolver. Other examples of Harry Lang's behavior demonstrate his latent homosexuality, suggesting that unconsciously some men identify strongly with the passive female role and invest women with masculine self-assertion, a penis. The illogic of unconscious mentation of course permits such divergent ideas as sexual self-assertion and sexual passivity to exist side by side. See the discussion of Harry Lang's personality below, p. 337.

[82] Schilder, *Goals and Desires of Men* (1942), 153; also Fromm, *Sex and Character* (1943), 24.

[83] Schilder, *Goals and Desires of Men* (1942), 153.

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Having established male-female ambivalence, we can now use the data as background for studying the expression of emotional isolation in sexual constriction.

Sexual constriction. Sexual constriction refers to an ambivalent response to sexual situations whose emotional intensity threatens to break down the imperviousness of the aloof personality, and which are further perceived as providing a channel for assertive self-expression and a bridge to warm interpersonal relations. From what has been said concerning the relations of men and women, it is obvious that sexual constriction is also influenced by the unconscious hostility and fear responsible for other manifestations of ambivalence in male-female relations. If we focus on sexual interaction as introducing two people to potentially warm and close association, which threatens the characterological armor against intense emotional impingements, we can understand the function of sexual constriction as a defense system designed to deal safely with dangerous but nevertheless pleasurable sexual phenomena. Sexual constriction is directed not so much against the pleasure aspects of sex as against its affectional aspects.

Manifestations of sexual constriction appear in premarital sexual stimulation, the unconscious definition of the sex act, the development of sexual incapacity, premarital and extramarital promiscuity, and in homosexuality. Our analysis will take up these points in order.

We have fully described the outstanding features of premarital sexual stimulation—preliminary teasing, chasing, capture, struggle, and coitus. In discussing rape we pointed out that it was often difficult to distinguish true rape from typical premarital sexuality; both occur in Kaska society.[64] The pattern of premarital sexual stimulation reflects the ambivalent significance of sexuality to the adolescent personality, and may be compared to a ritual dramatizing an internal struggle in the form of mock rape. Let us review the program of this ritual. Elements of sexual provocation and willingness, often initiated by girls, are followed by expressions of fear and hostility in which boys pursue girls. Finally the girl allows herself to be captured and, apparently only with reluctance, submits to coitus. All of these behavioral sequences are of considerable importance to the actors. Teasing, pursuit, and capture reflect the provocative pleasurable aspects of sexuality on the one hand and the fear of the emotional intensity of the situation on the other. Nobody in the ritual makes any direct gesture of surrender, but each sex makes concessions—the girl by teasing and allowing herself to be caught, the boy by chasing and then taking the initiative in coitus. The behavior in both sexes also affords opportunities for symbolically denying passivity and emotional dependence and for expressing self-assertion.

That girls should sometimes take the initiative in sexual situations is an adjustment to the unconscious coupling of self-assertion and copulation in the male personality and the attendant fear of potency failure. While men everywhere probably experience some fear

[64] Brown's observations regarding sex crimes in western culture are applicable to the Kaska data. Such crimes, he says, when committed by men (as most are) cannot be explained by sex alone but also embody "a definition of womanhood . . . not as something to protect but as something to violate." (Brown, *Social Psychology*, [1954], 172.) Neurotic women, in turn, often develop masochistic attitudes welcoming such attack. See Plaut, *Zur Psychologie der Notzucht und ihre forensische Begutachtung* (1930).

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157 of potency failure which conditions their attitudes toward sex,[8] among the Kaska this dan-
181 ger is made particularly severe, first, by the threat of intercourse to a personality directed
836 toward emotional aloofness and, second, by the chronic readiness to expect failure in any emotional crisis. Men, therefore, are ambivalent about taking the lead in sex or else do so, as in rape and mock rape, with real or symbolic aggression, which is supposed to reaffirm their sense of mastery.

157 The unconscious definition of the sexual act, derived from dreams and associations,
181 confirms the impression of the sexual situation as a kind of mock rape. A typical dream of
831 being pursued, similar to others several times reported by girls, comes from Marie Nolan.
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6:30:45 (Lower Post). "Night before I went to sleep. Tom [her white husband] came home twelve o'clock. I said: 'I dream that somebody come to my camp. Who are you?' He said: 'Me. I get scared and I start to get up. He grabbed me. He said: 'What are you trying to do?' Then I woke up. He said I start to fight him."

Asked whom she thought came into the camp, Marie said she suspected it was a soldier. She was invited to talk about soldiers and revealed that on the evening preceding the dream she had been at the restaurant when one of a group of American soldiers encountered her and tried to lure her into a truck with the promise of a drink. Marie, however, ran away. She was asked to
[609] say something more about soldiers. "These soldiers American, but I don't know who they are. I like American people. They're always fine people. I like white people. I always liked them. It must be because there's half-white blood in mine." She admitted that she had always wanted to be like white people and pointed out, with some pride, that her name did not appear on the Indian census rolls.

Marie's dream expresses an ambivalent fear of sexual attack. The fact that the dream occurs simultaneously with her husband's entrance into the camp is significant, since the dream thereby juxtaposes the white solider and Marie's white husband. Further evidence of ambivalence toward the central idea of the dream, coitus, is revealed in her association to American people, whom she likes, and white people, with whom she identifies.

A somewhat similar dream was reported by eleven year old Elsie Lang.

11:30:45 (Old Man's place). "I dream soldier—they drunk." The scene of the dream was Lower Post, where the soldiers pursued Elsie who sought to escape by fleeing down the cutbank.

Elsie is too young ever to have had sexual intercourse, but the dream may be interpreted as indicating her awareness of this behavior and expresses her dread of, and probably her wish for, the experience. The same girl reported recurrent dreams of running away from attacking dogs.

Eva Ardo admitted a series of dreams reflecting fear of attacks by animals and indicating the unconscious sexual significance of animal dreams.

6:15:45 (Lower Post). "I scared when I dream beaver. If somebody kill him, I never scared beaver. . . . Everytime, that's my dream—otter, mink, beaver. That's all. Is some boy, that otter. Then he come with me and catch me pretty near. I scared. I get away. That mink just the same boy too. Same way I see grizzly bear too. Just the same like a man. Is white man. I scared that grizzly bear. I scared black bear too."

[8] Fromm, *Sex and Character* (1942), 24.

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6:16:45. "I sleep, I dream grizly bear . . . I scared. He go up on a tree. Just I see him. He run me that grizzly bear. I run after a little way. I see him a little way behind." The dream was interpreted as a fear of being pursued by somebody. From whom is she running away? "Nobody," Eva replied. "That man he wants me but I lick him . . . I don't want him. Is good worker. . . ."

These animal dreams manifest the girl's fear of sexual aggression. Eva's second dream was reported following a discussion of the men who wanted to marry her and of one, particularly, with whom she was reported to be already living. In both dreams the sexual situation is conceived as attack and reacted to with dread. The intense fear of the grizzly bear, recounted by many male and female subjects, and the preoccupation with the grizzly in thinking suggest that unconsciously the grizzly bear symbolizes the emotional intensity of the sexual situation or any other intense emotional experience. In girls the grizzly bear fantasy takes the form of running away from the animal, just as in life the girl runs from the boys who want to possess her. Although boys admit conscious fear of the grizzly and also dream of this animal, they often dream or talk of overcoming the menace with a gun. In other words, the sexual situation is to be mastered with self-assertive tendencies. Failure to achieve such mastery, as in the dream of John Kean, whose gun failed when he was confronted by a grizzly, is the equivalent of sexual impotence.[88] In view of the male's unconscious definition of the sex act in terms of aggression, it is interesting to note Nitla's communication of the emotions he experienced when, as a ten year old, he saw a couple engaging in coitus. "I say: 'What the hell!' I'm scared. I think I kill woman sometime. I never think. Too young. I'm scared."[89]

Coming now to the manifestation of sexual constriction in sexual incapacity, we find the man's fear of impotence expressed in exaggerated ideas of potency. There is also evidence that girls and women are often frigid in coitus, partly, perhaps, because of the man's selfish sexual technique. Such interferences with the feminine orgastic functions may, however, be expected when the sex act is unconsciously conceived in terms of attack, and where there is strong ambivalence regarding the intensities of sexual interaction. In the man similar ambivalence, plus the fear of being inadequate to master what is defined as a self-assertive situation, may similarly result in orgastic disturbances.

Sexual sanctions further reveal the conflicting appeal of sex. All sexual activity is first of all regarded as indelicate and to be concealed. Children and youths are warned that premature sexuality arrests growth and that excessive copulation causes early aging or leads to insanity. There is probably a connection between the insanity invoked as a sexual sanction and the offense. Mental illness in Kaska society is usually described as running amok and manifesting general lack of conscious control. The intensity of the orgasm may resemble a similar dangerous disruption of control to the emotionally constricted Kaska, the sanction of insanity being projected from the fear of excessive orgastic stimulation. On the other hand, the Kaska regard some sexual indulgence as necessary for health.

If sexual constriction serves to block sexual expression, how can we account for the

[88] See above, p. 162.

[89] See his autobiographical sketch below, pp. 351–352. Also note his reference to the vagina dentata theme in the same place—the fear of death in intercourse.

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157 X181 831 prevalence of premarital sexual promiscuity as well as the high incidence of extramarital adultery?

Sexual promiscuity in adolescence represents a complexly determined phenomenon, all of whose keys we cannot pretend to locate. Focussing on the motivational aspects of this behavior, with only a passing nod to the awakening glandular processes and the lack of 157 manifest controls imposed on the behavior of adolescents, we can point to this period (when X181 drinking also begins) as providing youth with one of the first opportunities since early 836 childhood to experience release of emotional isolation. Promiscuity is more specifically explicable as affording the egocentric component of the girl's personality an opportunity to express itself in a revolt against her parentally enforced, passive, serving role. At this age too the boy's general self-assertion begins to be important in hunting and trapping, also embracing his awakening genitality; promiscuity means for him chances to prove himself and acquire further prestige. The biologically derived anxieties of sexual failing probably reinforce his drive to succeed in non-sexual fields, while failure in those spheres in turn intensifies potency anxiety. Finally, promiscuity offers a chance to satisfy affect hunger without involving either sex in too close or inextricable emotional bonds—safety lying in the number and variety of partners. Richard Day indicates this in his complaint of having found the effects of being in love so unpleasant that he would not want to risk the state again. He explained that love arises after copulating with the same girl several times and admitted that he avoids persistent intercourse with the same partner.[88]

157 X181 837 In marriage, promiscuity is probably often a flight from the anxiety aroused by too intense interpersonal relations between two people. The ambivalence with which the spouses enter marriage foreshadows the insecurity which develops when infatuation wears off and emotional isolation begins to be threatened by the dependence promoted through living together. In view of the Indians' moderate ego tonicity, it may be expected that marriage will also cause a man to feel the pressure of economic responsibilities. A husband who tries to allay this anxiety by too great reliance on his wife invites fresh anxiety from the ensuing conflict between egocentric and dependency motives. Extramarital promiscuity and divorce are attempts to substitute transitory and unthreatening sexual experiences for oppressive marriage relations.

157 X181 838 We now come to the expression of sexual constriction in homosexuality. Again it must be emphasized that it is not our intention to explain this tendency fully but only to throw light on some of its motivational foundations. Furthermore, we do not intend to discuss overt homosexual behaviors. Mutual masturbation probably grows out of close interpersonal association but we had no opportunity to study its psychological results. We can

[88] There is little doubt that sexual promiscuity is conditioned by the social climate in which it occurs, i.e., that it is structurally related to other aspects of culture. Recent papers have begun to study this problem, from the standpoint of personality in western culture but the results must be interpreted cautiously in view of the fact that the subjects of investigation comprise a selected sample of promiscuous men, namely those who contracted venereal disease. See Wittkower and Cowan, *Some Psychological Aspects of Sexual Promiscuity* (1944), and Watts and Wilson, *A Study of Personality Factors among Venereal Disease Patients* (1943). It has also been pointed out that female promiscuity may be a product of poor emotional adjustment and latent homosexuality. See Dupouy and Picard, *Une dysmnesie sublicale* (1908).

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discuss only the significance of homosexual tendencies like intrasexual friendships and tactual (non-genital) contacts. Bisexual tendencies are most pronounced at early adolescence when the fear of sexuality is apt to be greatest. Homosexual impulses at this time represent an alternative for intense intersexual relations, substituting attachments that do not pose an immediate threat to emotional isolation. Intrasexual friendships further offer an opportunity to satiate affect hunger, particularly through kinaesthetic satisfactions which omit any need of verbal self-revelation. One reason why such associations are continued beyond early adolescence lies in the fact that sexual constriction, founded on a base of sexual hostility, prohibits these satisfactions to accrue from oppositely sexed partners. Homosexual attachments, however, are not completely unthreatening to emotional isolation. This is indicated by the fact that intrasexual friendships are not invested with intense emotion (except, perhaps, between sisters) but are highly transitory and easily abandoned; the partners are readily substituted. In other words, Kaska homosexuality is promiscuous. As in premarital sexuality, when a homosexual association begins to grow too intense, it breaks down and partners are replaced.

As an aspect of emotional isolation, sexual constriction has been described as a conflict between the acceptable pleasure functions and the threatening affectional functions of sex. We have also tried to unravel the complexity with which the Kaska world and self-views condition the significance of sexual situations.

Expression in the Rorschach test situation. Three aspects of Kaska Rorschach performance reveal emotional isolation; first, insensitivity to emotionally exciting stimuli; second, repressed spontaneity, and, finally, indications of emotional anergy.

Rorschach literature recognizes three types of responses as revealing sensitivity to emotionally exciting stimuli. These types are, first, responses making use only of color; second, color responses which are secondarily determined by form, and, finally, form answers which make additional use of color. Before considering their expression in the Rorschach protocols of Kaska adults, let us define each of these groups.

Pure color responses (*C*) denote an instantaneously evoked, uninhibited, and relatively infantile expression of emotion "without regard to time and place."[69] According to Klopfer and Kelley, they reveal the extinction of all "rational permeation."[70] Color determined form answers (*CF*) indicate a heightened consciousness of the world to which an individual is aware of being required to adjust his emotional expressions in the interests of affection and social acceptance. "But the center of reference is still himself. He is still gratifying himself."[69] According to Klopfer and Kelley, in the *CF* response "the consideration of rational elements is not altogether abandoned but the emotional stimulation" predominates.[71] Finally, the form determined color responses (*FC*) indicate a full acceptance of "the outside world" by an adult who "knows its feelings and feels with it. He reacts with emotions but these are tempered by his regard for how the other fellow feels."[69] Such answers indicate "that the subject is open to the emotional stimulus implied in the coloring but is not willing to

[69] Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 30.
[70] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 186.
[71] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 183.

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react to it unless it can be done within the limits of rational considerations."[72]

Any attention to the color cards is, of course, limited by the number of pure form determined responses. This factor will be more fully discussed immediately following the analysis of color reactions.

The relevant scores for adult Kaska subjects follow:

	Mean (R = 22.16)	Per Cent
C	.32	1.4
CF	.26	1.1
FC	.67	3.1
F	15.0 (−5.8)	67.0 (−26.1)

The evidence indicates that Kaska adults make relatively little use of the all-color cards. When color is reacted to, it most often indicates emotional responsiveness determined by social considerations. Nevertheless, the scores show a residuum of self-gratificatory and labile emotionality which is kept under rigid control. The figures may, therefore, be interpreted as indicating a rigid rationing and control of affectivity from within the individual.

Color responses can be summed. When this is done for Kaska adults they yield a mean color score of .97. Compared to western color sums, this is very low and quantifies the disinterest in color stimuli and the inability of strong emotional reactions to be evoked by external situations.

Another quantitative technique for studying emotional reactivity in the Rorschach situation requires measuring the percentage of responses to the all-color cards. In Kaska adults, thirty-four per cent of all responses are made to the all-color cards. For western society the mean is 60.45 per cent (S.D. 25.6).[73] The low mean for the Indian subjects would indicate, according to Beck, that "something inhibitory is happening to the affects." If this inhibition is related to a rejection of the all-color cards, we have "color shock," which in western clinical practice is interpreted to be symptomatic of "neurosis and is therefore in reality neurotic shock. What happens is that . . . the individual becomes more constricted, inefficient, inaccurate, impoverished."[74] Apart from the rejection of the all-color cards, other criteria of color shock include an increase in poor form responses, absent or delayed popular responses, delayed responses, decreased productivity, an ignoring of color as a determinant, and expressions of inability to see meaning. Usually two or more signs of shock appear in a record and are sufficient for diagnosis. Sometimes only one sign may be manifested. The evidence of color shock in adult records is summarized in Table 17.

Four individuals responded with only one sign, nine with at least two signs, and five with three or more signs. Only one subject lacked any of the signs. Color shock is therefore clearly indicated in a majority of those adults who took the test and who reacted with two or more signs. Schachtel warns that "emotional suppression" are not necessarily clinically

[72] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 180.
[73] Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 32.
[74] Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 33.

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TABLE 17. SIGNS OF COLOR SHOCK IN ADULT KASKA RORSCHACH RECORDS

Signs	Number of Subjects Responding (N=19)	Number of Subjects Responding to	
		One Other Sign	Three or More Signs
At least fifty per cent of popular responses to last three cards	4	4	2
No use of color on any all-color card	5	5	3
One all-color card rejected	2	2	2
Two all-color cards rejected	1	1	1
All all-color cards rejected	2	2[78]	
Significant delay on one or more all-color cards	4	4	3
Inability to give meaning reasonably fluently on one or more all-color cards	8	7	3
At least fifty per cent of total F- on the all-color cards	5	3	2
Thirty per cent or fewer responses on the all-color cards	7	6	2

neurotic; before such a diagnosis is valid, the solution adopted to color shock must be studied.[76] Kaska adults, we find, do not respond to color disturbance with an increased number of poor form responses, indicating little relaxation of customary controls in the face of disturbing experience. Rather, shock leads to an avoidance of the whole disturbing situation (no use of color in forming the response, rejection of the all-color cards, momentary disturbance that is overcome). This bears out what has already been said of the Indian's striving to shut such situations out of awareness. Beck also emphasizes that the degree to which color shock occurs is important and warns that "the shock reaction is found throughout all groups of normals. . . . thus it demonstrates the old cliché that we are all, in this high-pressure age, neurotic."[77]

From their performance on the all-color cards, we may conclude that the Kaska Indians are upset by exciting stimuli but are inclined to control affective reactions to such disturbances. Drawing from this interpretation, we may say that the Rorschach situation tends to confirm not only the emotional isolation of the Kaska but also the Indian's deferent manner of escaping emotional provocations to hostility and mastering internal aggression.

Repressed spontaneity is the second expression of emotional isolation revealed by the Rorschach technique. According to Klopfer and Kelley: "Where a human being is afraid that he may not be able to control his emotional impulses, he resorts to an attempt to repress the spontaneity of his reactions and to put in its place an impersonal, matter-of-fact, cold way of dealing with situations. When this form of control plays a dominant role in the personality, we describe the behavior of such a person as *constricted*."[78] The authors define

[78] Both subjects were also marked for presenting fewer than thirty per cent of responses on the all-color cards.

[76] Schachtel, *On Color and Affect* (1943), 405.

[77] Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 39.

[78] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 207.

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constriction quantitatively; subjects with adequate intelligence whose record contains between fifty and eighty per cent *F* can be called constrictive."[79]

For the Kaska we find the mean *F* per cent to be sixty-seven for adults and sixty-five for children. Furthermore we find this picture of constriction to be unalleviated by any significant use of vista and texture responses, indicating "very rigid constriction."[80]

Bochner and Halpern point out that: "People who repress their emotions, those whose entire life is constricted . . . will show a stereotyped outlook, since inhibition in one sphere necessarily causes related narrowness in other spheres."[81] Lack of intellectual differentiation (stereotypy) is revealed in the high percentage of animal content. Since the mean animal per cent for western control groups is 46.87 (S.D. 17.58),[82] Kaska adults, with an animal percentage of 63 (S.D. 26) are, as already stated, placed sufficiently high in animal content responses to demonstrate such stereotypy and to warrant the conclusion that it is partly a consequence of emotional aloofness. In connection with utilitarianism, animal responses were considered to exemplify the tendency toward practical and concrete rather than speculative thinking. We are now in a position to understand further these utilitarian behaviors as in part motivated by emotional isolation. Below we will see from Rorschach evidence that the root of the individual's circumscribed approach to life, his procrastination in the face of danger, and general constriction—emotional as well as intellectual—follow from a deep seated basic anxiety derived in an early stage of development. Rooted in this trauma are utilitarian manifestations like the caution which prohibits the Indian from releasing his imagination and productive powers. Primary anxiety also reduces ego tonicity, from which in turn originates the flexible behaviors designed to protect psychic economy. The basic anxiety to which we refer is derived from the early affectional rejection of the child and continues to be borne by the adult individual. One of its expressions is emotional anergy which, in the Rorschach situation, is revealed by shading shock.

Klopfer and Kelley have associated shading shock "with individuals who have feelings of inadequacy and are afraid of external contact. It seems to indicate . . . that the individual is aware of his personality instability and that the disturbance is deeply rooted."[83] Speaking of "gray-black shock," Beck says: "It signalizes that anxiety which, because its roots lie deep in the very early experiences of the individual, has become a central character force, diffusing his energies and paralyzing him in almost all of life's crises, even the minor ones."[84]

A number of diagnostics are available for judging shading shock. From those suggested by leading Rorschach workers, we have selected six to verify in Kaska records. These are briefly summarized below.

1. Productivity is reduced when shading cards are shown.
2. Form quality declines on the shading cards.
3. Outright rejection of the shading cards occurs.

[79] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 234.
[80] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 234; also see p. 239.
[81] Bochner and Halpern, *The Clinical Application of the Rorschach Test* (1945), 60.
[82] Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 15.
[83] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 388.
[84] Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 39.

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4. Expressions of shock and other manifestations of discomfort and indirect rejection appear when the shading cards are presented.
5. A decline in the number of popular responses appears with the shading cards
6. Texture is avoided as a determinant with the shading cards.

The shading cards are Cards I, IV, V, VI, and VII. Although Card I is not as significant as the others for determining shading shock, since the novelty of the inkblots may influence the subject's reaction to this initial stimulus, it may be included in order to balance the number of shading and other cards. A comparison of the two sets of cards for adults in terms of the criteria of shading shock is given in Table 18.

TABLE 18. EVIDENCE OF SHADING SHOCK IN ADULT KASKA RORSCHACH RECORDS

Sign	Per Cent of Responses	
	Shading Cards	Other Cards
Proportion of total responses	43	56
Proportion of poor form responses	51	49
Proportion of outright rejections	43	57
Proportion of popular answers	40	60
Proportion of texture responses	47	53

Except in the case of outright rejections, the evidence indicates that Kaska adults as a whole did more poorly in the case of the shading cards than with the rest of the blots. That we do not find expected differences in the percentage of outright rejections is probably due to the fact that the non-shading cards contain the color blots, whose heavy rejection has already been discussed in connection with color shock. A summary of the performances of seven adults, prepared with special reference to the shading cards, reveals the uneasiness occasioned by these stimuli and also gives evidence of indirect rejection manifested in expressions of shock and discomfort.

PAULETTE DONNELLY

Card IV. "I don't know this one." Then a pause and finally a response.

Card VI. "I don't know this one." The card was rejected. The record contains no other initial or total rejection.

HANS DONNELLY

Cards I and VI. Rejected without comment. There were no other rejections.

DICK MOUNTAIN

Card I. Rejected.

Card IV. "My gee, what's this now? I never see like this in this country. I don't know. Don't know." The card was rejected.

Card V. Rejected.

Card VI. "Gee whiz! Don't get nothing out of this." Rejected.

Card VII. Immediately the subject exclaimed: "Oh, nothing." He refused the card vigorously.

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OLD KEAN

Card IV. "Funny thing. Something like lake. Just like sometimes a man coming up that lake. Injun scared like hell." The subject digressed to speak of a mythological cannibalistic frog.

Card V. "I never see this country like this. Someplace something different too. Just like man. He do something in lake. . . ."

Card VII. "I guess devil like that. Old Devil, he make everything. God make good thing . . . this country I never see that one."

RIVER JOE

Cards V and VII. Rejected. One other rejection occurred in the record (Card X).

EDWARD PRINCE

Rejected all the cards till Card V, gave a response to that and rejected VI and the three all-color cards.

JOHN KEAN

Card IV. The first of two rejections occurred on this card; the second occurred on the second all-color card.

Card VI. "I never see that too . . . looks like bug, two teeth up here [D 7]. . . ."

x157
x181

The evidence of shading shock discovered in Kaska adults' records may be interpreted as revealing a deep feeling of inadequacy or basic anxiety derived from the early experiences of the individual. We conclude that this crippling anxiety follows from the child's emotional rejection. The anxiety may also be regarded as the inhibitory fear which makes the individual recoil from any intense emotional stimuli and motivates him to erect rigid barriers, like those revealed in the high *F* per cent, and defenses such as we have discussed in connection with the other dominant motivations. It is from this point of view that all of the dominant motivations may be perceived as defenses adopted against threats to still more basic needs, like security and self-esteem.

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Release of emotional isolation. Several opportunities occur in Kaska life for the relaxation of defenses against emotional stimulation and the expression of relatively strong emotion in interpersonal relations. Gambling, with its opportunities for releasing aggression, is a situation in which the stimulation of company is greatly relished. Intoxication, as already indicated, reduces the conscious threshold of a number of inhibitions and is a condition in which emotional reactions are readily released. Dancing, with its opportunities for sexual and physical contacts, probably owes a large share of its popularity to the fact that it permits the release of isolating defenses, breaks down detachment, and facilitates bodily contact between young people of opposite sex. Visiting, idling, and potlatch groups have similar functions in partially breaking down social detachment. The whole summer period, in fact, holds opportunities and promises for closer personal relations.

x181
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Why should the breakdown of emotionally isolating defenses be enjoyed? The very fact that situations affording release are so popular suggests that the Kaska Indian is not completely satisfied in his way of life, that the guarantees afforded by social detachment also impose a frustration on "natural" tendencies. Whether such tendencies are innate or

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not, we cannot say. It can be said, however, that the trauma of emotional rejection leaves the person with a sense of impaired capacity, affect hunger, and desire for warm interpersonal relationships. The popularity of dancing, visiting, drinking, and gambling arises in part from the fact that these situations offer opportunities for breaking down attitudinal screens that normally inhibit interpersonal relations. The ambivalence manifested in many of these situations (e.g., the blocked conversation of visiting, the initial reluctance to dance) indicates the primacy of the emotionally isolating motivation to which so many aspects of the culture are geared. The motive can most safely be released in a crowd. When intense release occurs otherwise, the effect is to activate the basic trauma, promoting intense guilt and a feeling of catastrophic breakdown—"absolute worthlessness, absolute rejection."[88] This is the effect of mental breakdown.

Résumé. Emotional isolation has been discussed in relation to the other dominant motivations of Kaska personality. With its roots in the affectional rejection of the Kaska child, emotional isolation strives to maintain the individual's safety from all emotionally intense situations, which are identified as threatening. Emotional isolation inhibits both responses of love and hate and also cooperates with other motivations to pattern intersexual hostility and ambivalent attitudes toward sexual situations.

The accumulated evidence tends to show that out of the trauma of maternal emotional rejection, the Kaska Indian is led to erect an intricate system of defenses designed to maintain safety via the route of social detachment and personal inviolability. In an atomistic society composed of other individuals similarly motivated, this system is often successful. On the other hand, the initial trauma, on which the motivation is founded and against whose reactivation the defenses are maintained, burdens the individual with a constant source of threat and anxiety which must be regarded as intrinsically unpleasant. Furthermore, the craving for love without the means of accepting this gratification impose another almost insoluble frustration on Kaska personality which must also be taken into account in evaluating the efficiency of the defense system.

WORLD VIEW AND SELF-VIEW

We have presented a descriptive picture of Kaska ethos, building an interpretation around six partially conflicting dominant motivations. Our purpose now is to synthesize this description. The Kaska view of the world wavers between an idea that experience is manageable and an awareness that life is threatening and difficult. These opposite attitudes lead to two principal means of responding to adaptive and adjustive problems. For many of the hazards of existence, there are tested problem solutions with the aid of which one can efficiently overcome a harsh and rigorous environment. In these situations it is possible to be resourceful, capable, and masterful. Unfortunately, the context of life offering security is extremely limited. To stay within the area of safety requires constant watchfulness and caution. As soon as experiential boundaries widen, catastrophy may be expected. The uncertainties of life must be avoided lest by testing resourcefulness too sharply they promote failure. Society, like the physical environment, also holds dangers. Here safety lies in avoid-

[88] Maslow and Mittelmann, *Principles of Abnormal Psychology* (1941), 59.

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157 ing interpersonal relations which promise to stir up intense emotions or invite excessive
181 effort against which there are no effective safeguards and which tax the resources of the ego.

Two divergent attitudes toward the self, self-reliance and helplessness, complement the double view of the world in Kaska personality. The most acceptable is the notion of self-confidence that seems to say: "I can do this, but I must do it alone." The independence and self-containment involved in this formula partly rest on feelings of being socially detached, lonely, and afraid. To deny these anxious notes, a person must prove his effectiveness lest by failure he admit his need for social support.

Completely inacceptable is the idea of personal helplessness, the doubt that promises failure and which urges the person to relax from striving. In life's critical situations—and these are frequent and inevitable for an uncertain personality—the responsible feelings of the individual, to his great dismay, quickly give ground. There ensues a blind reaching out for all the things that are equivalent to failure—relaxation from striving, affection, and protection. The person is touched with guilt for his helplessness and threatened by anxiety which he dares not release for fear of further imperiling his safety. So long as the Kaska can contain their physical and social environmental participation within narrow limits, they feel resourceful, capable, and safe; trouble is avoided; life is simple, and the individual is supreme. As soon as the protective boundaries are upset, however, there follows a wave of worry and anxiety that signifies the penalty of failure.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ETHOS

Our study of Kaska ethos now concerns itself with the development of the dominant motivations in which this system has its roots. In pursuing this aim we find it more significant to concentrate on how learning takes place than on the cultural content which is transmitted by direct learning, although explicit instruction which reinforces dominant motivations will not be neglected. In the words of Bateson and Mead, our assumption is that, "An individual's character structure, his attitudes toward himself and his interpretation of experience are conditioned not only by what he learns, but also by the method of learning."[28] For this analysis, the most significant aspects of socialization may be grouped under five headings: infant care, emotional rejection, parental attitudes and authority, identifications, and activities of later childhood.

155 *Infant care.* A newborn infant occupies an extremely favorable position in Kaska society.
181 The baby is carefully kept warm and comfortable and fed whenever it cries. Crying also
854 brings a quick response in the way of other comforts and attention. The early relationship between mother and child is a warm one and during the first two years of life the child is usually in close proximity to its mother, although the manner of blanketing the infant permits little direct contact between the mother's arms and the baby's naked body. Weaning is gradual and tolerant, the satisfactions of suckling being prolonged by continuing to allow nursing from a bottle once weaning is terminated. Punishment is as rare in the baby's life as attention is plentiful.

What are the effects of these patterns of infant care in the personality of the developing

[28] Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character* (1942), 84. Also see above, p. 15.

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121 *Culture and Ethos* (1949). In 1948, while spending a relatively lonely winter with the Cree Indians of Attawapiskat, Ontario, I managed to salvage sufficient time to write up the first draft of the present manuscript from field notes which I had designedly taken North the previous summer. The following pages are published substantially as they came from the typewriter in 1951.

● 157 Conditions for work among the Kaska Indians remained almost unbelievably ex-
124 cellent when compared with the problems which anthropologists have encountered in Northern Apathaskan field work. Relatively little of the reticence, diffidence, and disinterest, that made previous work with the Fort Nelson Slave so difficult, manifested themselves at Lower Post. Willing male informants were easy to secure. However, in recent years I have become very conscious of the sampling deficiencies inherent in the traditional method of ethnography. This method has led to disproportionate amount of information being secured from informants belonging to the upper Liard River region. That group provided the most cooperative informants as well as those possessing considerable facility in English. In 1945 I spent part of the winter with these same willing upper Liard River folk.

000 For their generous hospitality, gratitude goes to Mr. and Mrs. J. Stewart, of the Hudson's Bay Company. At their door early that June morning appeared my family inquiring about a place in which to get breakfast. We were not turned away. I recall, too, the friendliness of Mr. and Mrs. Rupert Brooks, the always ready helpfulness of Mr. Clarence Millspaugh, and the open heartedness of Mr. Hans Anderson, one of the most unforgettable characters whom I have met in the North. Transportation was arranged through the cooperation of Major F. C. Barger, Lieutenants C. E. Barger and E. Waters, and Sergeant V. Kelly, all of the United States Army. Major D. M. MacKay, then Indian Commissioner for British Columbia, facilitated certain aspects of field work and his office supplied useful census data. My intellectual debt to Professor Cornelius Osgood is a pervasive one. To him I owe my original orientation to the peoples and cultures of northern North America. My sincere thanks for financial assistance to do field work go to the Department of Anthropology, Yale University, the Yale Peabody Museum, and to Mr. and Mrs. William A. Castleton. Professor Lucy Chamberlain, Chairman of the Department of Sociology-Anthropology, Washington Square College, New York University, helped me arrange a teaching schedule that left a maximum time for writing. For assistance in completing final typing of parts of the manuscript I acknowledge the help received from the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina.

Chapel Hill, 1954. JOHN J. HONIGMANN

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161 square kilometers probably needs reduction if it is to conform to the Cassiar as we have defined it.[44] Available information concerning population movements in the early contact period has been presented in another monograph and need not be repeated here.[45]

PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPES

157 It is manifestly impossible to utilize direct observation as a method for learning the personal characteristics of the aboriginal Kaska Indians. Such a picture, it cannot be denied, would give depth to the cultural reconstruction that we intend to present. One means of gauging the personality of a past people is to rely on the impressions of early travelers. Such visitors may not have had contact with the Kaska but with their neighbors and so it must be assumed that relatively common behavior patterns obtained throughout a relatively large culture area. Personal observations by the writer and recent psychological studies by Hallowell, Caudill, Barnouw, and others suggest that the facts support an assumption of behavioral homogeneity in the northern forest, although differences can certainly be discovered even between adjacent tribes or nations. Richardson has given a very full and intimate impression of the Dogrib. He says:[46]

> Few traces of the stoicism popularly attributed to the red races exist among the Dog-ribs: they shrink from pain, show little daring, express their fears without disguise on all occasions, imaginary or real, shed tears readily, and live in constant dread of enemies, bodied and disembodied. Yet all, young and old, enjoy a joke heartily. They are not a morose people but, on the contrary, when young and in a situation of security, they are remarkably lively and cheerful. The infirmities of age, which press heavily on the savage, render them querulous.

According to Dawson, "the Kaska have the reputation of being a very timid people and they are rather undersized and have a poor physique. They are lazy and untrustworthy."[47]

828 Another means of securing personality data suggested itself in the course of field work. What could a sophisticated informant say about aboriginal character types? Asked to describe some "old fashioned" individuals an Upper Liard informant provided the following patterns:

"Quiet man" (maza?unt?etena). Such a person spoke infrequently and briefly. However excessive taciturnity disturbed other people. A man who didn't speak for two or three days was suspected of holding murderous intentions toward somebody.

"Highest man talking" (maza?anu?utiihiitena). This refers to a man capable of many tasks and confident enough in his ability to see that other people became aware of his capacities.

"He knows everything man" (enatayatiihiitena). Very few people in the aboriginal community measured up to this type, a man skillful in providing all the implements and apparatus needed for making a living and doing all of the required tasks with consummate skill.

[44] Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (1939), 141.
[45] Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 37.
[46] Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition* (1852), 250.
[47] Dawson, *Report of an Exploration in the Yukon District, N.W.T.* (1887-88), 200.

7: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1947
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155 approach to problems of adaptation to which traditional solutions cannot be readily applied.

155 A basic anxiety conditioning relatively low resistance to traumatic situa-
854 tions develops primarily from the relationship of the Kaska mother to her
855 child. In the first two years of life the infant receives extremely favorable treatment. The mother responds readily to the baby's discomforts; crying is quickly rewarded, while affection and attention are consistently displayed. Between two and three years of age the mother's behavior undergoes a change. Whether or not another baby is born, the mother becomes emotionally more remote and self-occupied and her relationship to the child becomes one that is best described as emotional rejection. Crying is scolded, and demands for affection to which the child has become accustomed are ignored. It is not unusual to see four- and five-year-old children who have been hurt crying by themselves rather than seeking emotional comfort from a parent or other adult. Thus from a period of affectional demonstrativeness the Kaska mother returns to the pattern of emotional aloofness that is characteristic of most interpersonal relationships within the society. This hiatus in development sets up a number of dynamics in the child's personality but the only one with which we are concerned is a deep-seated anxiety and feeling of insecurity toward the world, leading to an ambivalent attitude toward all intense emotional relationships.[30] This basic anxiety remains with the individual throughout life and is responsible for the inadequate strength of the Kaska ego when confronted by crises.

754 At the time of the witch-fear outbreaks the Kaska found their survival
182 imperiled. This threat came from several sources which have already been
154 mentioned; the influx of strangers had upset the balance of game, new ill-
178 nesses were introduced, and an adequate standard of living was coming to depend heavily upon the intensive trapping of skins to exchange for the white man's foodstuffs. All of these changes presented problems of existence for which traditional solutions were inadequate. Hunting required additional effort and was accompanied by more uncertainty than ever before while the belief in the efficacy of charms, songs for luck, and other hunting ceremonials had disappeared; illness, for which the Kaska were never well equipped, was increasing while native therapeutics, notably the belief in shamanism, had already broken down. Trapping required degrees of foresight, initiative, effort, and long-range planning for which the Indians were (and still are) psychologically unprepared. On the other hand, the rewards of trapping, the most important of which was an adequate supply of food that would reduce the necessity of hunting, were unattainable so long as this ability was not efficiently

[30] These conclusions are well demonstrated in the Rorschach situation in which the Kaska subject displays an intense fear of the close interpersonal relationship that administration of the test presents to him, a pronounced reluctance to respond to internal and external emotional stimuli (color shock), few movement responses, and deep-seated primary anxiety (shading shock).

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